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Nazarkin on Resuming Nuclear Arms Talks With U.S.
LD1506211489 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—To make up for the time lost in the more than seven-months' break at Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons, vigorous work is necessary, thinks Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks with the United States on nuclear and space arms, to be resumed on June 19. Nazarkin in an article published in a regular issue of the weekly "ZA RUBEZHOM" analyses the tasks before the negotiators.

The ten rounds of talks held so far have prepared a good basis for concluding a treaty, Nazarkin says. Joint drafts of five documents have been put together. Of the treaty proper on a 50-per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms (SOA), memorandum of agreement on starting data and three protocols—on the throw weight of ballistic missiles, on inspections, and on reequipment or liquidation of the means falling under the treaty.

Thus a big portion of the work has already been done, and now it is necessary to bring it to fruition on the basis of the existing agreements in principle and of the jointly prepared and largely-agreed-upon draft documents. Some problems, however, do remain outstanding.

It is above all the problem of the link between the 50-per cent SOA reductions and compliance with the existing ABM Treaty. Another major problem on which the fate of the would-be SOA treaty hinges, in Nazarkin's view, is imposing limits on long-range sea-based cruise missiles (SBCM). (?During talks) the Soviet side tabled proposals on the method of limiting such missiles and on an expanded verification system. They are still on the negotiating table, awaiting a constructive answer, Nazarkin stresses. Without agreement on SBCM limitations an effective treaty on SOA reductions may fail to materialise.

The article also says that there also remains the issue of how heavy bombers and long-range airbased cruise missiles could be limited. It would be necessary to continue agreeing upon the procedure for restricting the mobile ICBM launchers (both ground-based and those on railway tracks).

In conclusion Nazarkin notes that the Soviet side is prepared at the coming talks to solve the remaining problems and to move jointly and on the basis of mutual acceptance toward completion of the work on the SOA treaty which, with the compliance with the ABM Treaty as it was signed in 1972, will contribute to strategic stability and enhanced security not only for the Soviet and the American peoples but also for the whole of mankind. The process also needs to be accelerated in light of the task to reduce defence spending without prejudice to defence capacity and in the interests of releasing extra means to meet the needs of a peaceful economy of the USSR.

U.S. Ambassador To Tour Udmurtiya Verification Site
LD0906102389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, and officials accompanying him, will arrive in the capital of Udmurtiya today. A U.S. inspection group, which is verifying the fulfillment of the conditions of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has already been working for a whole year at the Votkinsk works in the autonomous republic, where SS-20 missiles were tested. Ambassador Matlock will participate in the official opening of a residential settlement for the inspectors.

Report on UN Disarmament Conference at Dagomys
PM1406142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent P. Bogomolov dispatch: "Debates at Dagomys"]

[Text] Sochi, 13 Jun—The UN Regional Conference on Disarmament is continuing its work in Dagomys in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

A number of delegates to the regional conference, including certain Western political scientists, were critical of the report delivered by B. Daniel, executive director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, who is officially representing the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks. He had hardly finished his speech when he had to answer a string of questions from meeting participants, primarily with regard to Mr Daniel's assertion that the long period of peace in Europe had been brought about by the nuclear arsenals accumulated in the NATO countries.

Fundamental disputes, acute debates, and contradictory discussions have all been taking place at the Dagomys conference. It is however worth noting that its overall mood has been marked not by confrontation but by a notable desire on the part of the sides to better understand each other's positions.

Results of NATO's Spring Sessions Noted
PM1506085189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Jun 89 First Edition p 1

[Yu. Kharlanov dispatch under the "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Results of the 'Spring Marathon'"]

[Text] Brussels, 12 Jun—Contrary to established tradition, the sittings of the NATO military committees have been held after rather than before the political session, which took place in late May at the level of heads of state and governments.

It was clear that the defense ministers could hardly add a great deal to the compromise proposals elaborated on by the North Atlantic bloc's council.

The final documents produced by the "Eurogroup" and the NATO Military Planning Committee support and approve the decisions adopted at the NATO summit on 29-30 May.

It has been announced that a "high level working group" tasked with working out the details of the program for conventional arms reductions put forward by U.S. President G. Bush has already been created.

NATO Secretary General M. Woerner said at the press conference that he hopes that NATO will be able to put this document on the negotiating table in Vienna in September. Admittedly, this promise does not accord very well with the avowed intention expressed in the Military Planning Committee's communique to continue the fulfillment of NATO plans aimed at building up the military bloc.

A quite lively debate developed around this contradiction, as became clear in the lobbies. The representatives of a number of countries, in particular, Belgian Defense Minister G. Coeme, proposed that NATO abandon its 1977 pledge to increase military spending by 3 percent annually in real terms. Especially, as G. Coeme added, many governments are not fulfilling this pledge.

However, the final document retained the former figure, although it said that "there may be substantial variations from one country to another."

The problem of reducing the scale and duration of the annual military maneuvers in Western Europe was also discussed at the sittings of the NATO military bodies. M. Woerner announced that these demands have been considered in principle. A group of experts will be instructed to elaborate on concrete proposals.

The "marathon" spring sittings of the NATO bodies, which began in April with the work of the Nuclear Planning Group, ended on this note.

West's 'Misgivings' Hampering End to Cold War
PM1606092789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[Yuriy Zhukov "View From Moscow": "What Is Preventing an End to the 'Cold War'"]

[Text] Everywhere in the world attentive political observers are currently analyzing and comparing the political objectives in the foreign policy sphere set out in M.S. Gorbachev's report to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and in a number of speeches made by U.S. President G. Bush recently. On some points their assessments coincide. On others they differ. But all of them note that both sides recognize the vital importance of abandoning the old thinking characteristic of the "cold war" period and promoting the new thinking, which is in line with the realities of the present time.

"Despite the two social systems' profound differences," the Soviet leader said, "each of them has discovered objective opportunities to embark on a fundamentally new, peaceful period in the history of mankind."

"We are ready to contribute to the formation of a new world," the U.S. President said. "We must seek to end the 'cold war' now. The world has been waiting for this for a long time. If we succeed, the world in which our children will live, the world of the 21st century, will be much better than our world."

It goes without saying that the world cannot be changed overnight at the wave of a magic wand. Changes are born slowly, with great difficulty and sometimes in agony.

As the head of our state noted in London on 6 April, the confrontational anti-Soviet syndrome, which served some people so well during the "cold war," still frequently comes to the fore. Recently it recurred in Great Britain again.

However, what is much more important is the incontrovertible fact that the new thinking, which precludes confrontation, continues to win over people's minds in both the West and East. According to information published recently in THE NEW YORK TIMES, two out of three Americans have declared that Moscow no longer represents an immediate threat to the United States, and three out of four Americans think nuclear war is "unlikely." The impact of the new thinking in Europe is no less significant. The Paris magazine LE POINT reports that 76 percent of FRG citizens, 74 percent of Britons, 65 percent of Italians, and 41 percent of the French believe that the USSR genuinely wants to stop the arms race. Furthermore, the need to retain nuclear weapons has been "called into question" in France for the first time, and the number of opponents of these weapons "has reached approximately the same level as in Britain, where antinuclear tendencies have been constantly in evidence in recent years."

It is worth noting here that not only do prominent military figures of past U.S. administrations, now in retirement—R. McNamara, former secretary of defense, or A. Goodpaster, former NATO supreme allied commander, for instance—favor arms reduction and ending the "cold war," but even the present Secretary of Defense R. Cheney, who quite recently was still diligently trying to earn the reputation of a "hawk," has substantially altered his vocabulary.

As recently as 6 June the text of an interview which he gave to the CNN television network was circulated. When he was asked whether "it is possible to take the view that the 'cold war' has ended," he said: "I no longer hear anyone using the term—ending the 'cold war.' It is obvious that we are on the threshold—if present trends continue—of a new era in international relations which will mark a substantial fundamental change in U.S.-Soviet relations."

Naturally, the reader will ask: What is preventing this "fundamental change" from taking place? And why, after a short spell of euphoria brought on in the West by the proposals put forward by the U.S. President at the NATO jubilee session in Brussels, which move some way toward the USSR's position at the arms reduction talks, have pessimistic forecasts again appeared here and there? In London, and also in other bloc capitals, fears are being expressed that the U.S. proposals may cause... "a rift in NATO" since there are widespread misgivings in the West that Bush's plan, which envisages cuts in U.S. troops and NATO aircraft in Europe, may create preconditions for disillusionment in Europe and even for an exacerbation of tensions in the Western alliance.

To be frank, the source of these "misgivings" should be sought not so much in West European capitals as in Washington itself. It is there that the voices of various "experts" sowing skepticism can be heard more and more loudly.

These skeptics frequently prefer to remain anonymous. Incidentally, some of them—NATO Supreme Allied Commander U.S. General Galvin, for instance—are not embarrassed to speak out openly. According to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the general is "irritated by people who want the West to carry out unilateral cuts on the grounds that the Soviet threat has subsided."

Setting out such influential "experts'" reasons for their views, U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, which is normally well informed about the mood in the Pentagon, states gloomily in its latest issue:

"When George Bush triumphantly left for home last week, the North Atlantic Alliance was in a jubilant mood. The alliance had succeeded in appeasing all the sides and restoring unity among them... However, this euphoria conceals a grim reality. After 40 years of success the West has suddenly lost its shared sense of purpose and the strategy of responding to the rapid changes which are taking place on both sides of the rusting Iron Curtain. The end result of the process that has been set in motion may be the disintegration of the postwar order in Europe."

"The reduction of the two sides' armed forces to a level where they no longer present a threat," the journal continues, voicing the alarm of its anonymous interlocutors, "will result in a united Europe becoming a powerful independent economic and political force and in America's influence waning. Inevitably the FRG, thanks to its geographic position and dynamism, will be able to influence the future of Europe more actively."

This is followed by a highly significant remark: Bush unwittingly, as it were, prepared the ground for the "rise of a more dynamic Germany when he called last week for the elimination of all the barriers between East and West."

I believe, however, that all these farfetched fears of the inhabitants of the Pentagon are by no means backed by any real facts. What is more, there is every reason to believe that they are dictated by purely propagandist considerations.

The attempts to resuscitate the myth of alleged attempts by the socialist countries' diplomacy to undermine NATO with their ideas of arms reduction and ending the "cold war" are even less well founded. People are not blind. They are increasingly clearly aware that the USSR and its allies have put forward a realistic range of measures dictated by both sides' interests.

The times are changing. Life is forcing politicians to seek new approaches in their assessment's of the world situation. This quest is not an easy one. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the restructuring of international relations which has already begun, despite the opposition of conservative forces, provides a relatively broad scope for hopes for a better future.

How justified one of these hopes is—the hope for a substantial reduction in the level of military confrontation in Europe—will, I believe, be revealed in the course of the next round of the talks of the 23 states in Vienna, where the sides' positions on the reduction of conventional arms, which have drawn significantly closer, will be compared. A great deal depends on the constructive development of these talks!

Soviet Writers Officially Admitted to PEN Club

18001196 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Jun 89 p 7

[Interview with writer Anatoliy Rybakov by I. Sergeyeva: "The PEN Club Is Opened"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Rybakov] On 10 May an event that was noteworthy for Soviet writers took place in Holland. The 53d International Congress of the PEN Club decided to set

up a Russian-Soviet PEN Center and four national-regional PEN centers in the USSR and admit them to the International PEN Club. This was preceded by long and serious discussions between the president and secretary of the International PEN Club. An organizational committee for the Soviet PEN Center has been formed in Moscow, made up of 63 writers representing all genres in literature and known both in the country and abroad.

A delegation made up of A. Bitov, I. Vinogradov, F. Iskandr, V. Stabnikov and myself attended the 53rd Congress in Maastricht. The agenda included the admission of the Soviet PEN Center to the International PEN Club. The discussion was preceded by a press conference at which we responded to a number of questions about the position of our literature today and the state of affairs in the country.

Everything did not go smoothly. Certain forces were opposed to our admission. They based their position on the fact that some writers who are members of the Soviet PEN Center at one time participated in acts of persecution against professional colleagues, which is categorically at variance with the PEN Club Charter.

I spoke for the Soviet delegation. After briefly describing some of the most important factors in our history, I said that it had been a national tragedy that merciless terror and the resulting fear dominated our society. Not everyone managed to withstand this. Some bent like trees under the severity of this pressure and made concessions that were not to the honor of the men of letters. This also included talented people. Now truth is conquering, and the more it conquers the more charitable truth becomes. We cannot abandon those writers. Their signatures on the PEN Club Charter will also be an admission of their own mistakes and a guarantee that they will not repeat them.

It seems to me that this proposition puts the issue to rest and that no one will raise it again. The decision was reached unanimously.

[Sergeyeva] What does the PEN Center mean for our country?

[Rybakov] The International PEN Club unites writers throughout the world. Today we want to join the family of peoples throughout the world and establish contacts with them in economics and in politics and in the social sphere. Naturally, we also want to establish literary contacts and become organizationally a part of the international literary movement and participate in the measures to defend human rights that the PEN Club implements. The great Russian literature and the great literature of the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union have always been part of the world culture and firmly implanted in the spiritual lives of many peoples, just as the literatures of many countries have become part of our life. The charter lays down that each member of the club should make every effort to oppose class and national enmity and defend general human rights.

We stated that we recognize the principles of the PEN Club and accept its Charter and all the obligations stemming from that.

[Sergeyeva] And who may speak in the Soviet Center? Only members of the Soviet PEN?

[Rybakov] No, not just the members. Moreover, membership in the Soviet PEN does not afford the automatic right to speak at the PEN Center. We have writers in the organizational committee who are not members of the Soviet PEN. The main condition for speaking is that a member of the PEN Center be a man of letters whose works are well known and who accepts and observes the charter of the club.

It goes without saying, and this was stated at the congress, that fellow-countrymen of ours living abroad will be accepted as members of our PEN centers. We want to return all literature to the country regardless of where its writer may live.

[Sergeyeva] The Soviet PEN Center has been set up. Has its work already started?

[Rybakov] It would be more correct to say that it is continuing. The organizational committee should now meet and reach decisions on a whole range of organizational issues such as the election of a president, the setting up of four regional PEN centers (in addition to those already existing in the Baltic republics), and procedure for the admission of new members, and much else.

United States & Canada

TASS Notes Bush Consults NSC on Geneva Talks

LD1606072289 Moscow TASS in English 0705 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Washington June 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

President George Bush held a meeting with members of the National Security Council [NSC] on Thursday to discuss the U.S. position at the talks with the Soviet Union on strategic offensive arms cuts. The talks will resume in Geneva next Monday.

As follows from a THE WASHINGTON POST report, which quoted administration officials, the meeting failed to set the administration's negotiating position.

The newspaper said President Bush "made no decision on such key issues as whether to allow mobile land-based nuclear missiles."

"The administration has not decided whether or how to modify a Reagan demand that all mobile land-based missiles should be banned," THE WASHINGTON POST quoted the officials as saying.

The officials said that Bush is unlikely to propose any new initiatives on two "principal" topics at the Geneva talks: Tests of ballistic-missile defence technologies and deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles.

The newspaper said the administration "will continue to resist constraints" in both fields.

According to the report, the administration is divided over the issue of mobile nuclear missiles. THE WASHINGTON POST said the President's senior aides, such as national Securty Adviser Brent Scowcroft and chief U.S. negotiator Richard Burt, have supported a proposal to allow such missiles if they carry only a single warhead.

However, other administration officials have suggested that the administration "wait to see whether Congress will fund Bush's plan to deploy soon the rail-mobile MX, with 10 warheads, and eventually add the mobile Midgetman, with only one warhead."

Bush has repeatedly said that his administration's position at the talks "will not vary much" from that of the Reagan administration.

Speaker Foley Seen Facing 'Tense' House

PM1306132789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jun 89 Second Edition p 7

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "Shakeup"]

[Text] Washington, 8 Jun—The U.S. House of Representatives, rocked by scandals and interparty clashes, has elected a new speaker to replace Jim Wright, who is retiring. He is succeeded in this highly influential post by 60-year-old Congressman Tom Foley from Washington State, who until recently was the leader of the Democrat majority.

With the election of the new, 49th speaker a quite painful shake-up process has begun in the Democrat leadership in the lower house. It has already been announced that former speaker J. Wright decided voluntarily to resign and return to private life under the pressure of charges of breaching "Congressional ethics." Tony Cuelho, deputy leader of the Democrat majority, also made the same decision after "dubious financial dealings" were ascribed to him. Although the charges against Wright and Cuelho were simply unproven, they both deemed this step necessary in the interests of overcoming the political crisis that has hit the Democrat legislators and in effect paralyzed Congress' activity.

Unlike Wright—a man of firm views and convictions that were rarely sacrificed for the sake of compromise—the new speaker is described as a "peacemaker" and a supporter of bipartite consensus. In his 25 years on Capitol Hill Foley has shown himself to be a moderate legislator, avoiding confrontation with the Republicans.

In his first speech after his swearing-in, Foley urged Congressmen to "overcome the bitterness, division, and hostility." However, his appeal had no particular effect. The inertia of worsening interparty clashes was manifest in the speech delivered by R. Michel, leader of the Republican minority, who warned that "the battle is not over yet."

In other words, the atmosphere in the House of Representatives is still extremely tense. People expect Foley's reputation as a peacemaker to undergo serious tests very soon, which means that a recurrence of the skirmishes between Democrats and Republicans cannot be avoided. At any rate, both sides' declaration in favor of "bipartite cooperation" is hanging in the air at present.

Lukyanov Meets U.S. Elections Commission Group

LD1306124489 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—Soviet first vice-president Anatoliy Lukyanov received in the Kremlin today a delegation from the U.S. Federal Elections Commission, headed by its chairman Danny McDonald, in the USSR at the invitation of the Central Commission for Election of People's Deputies of the USSR.

In a substantive, informal conversation, the Soviet official described specific features of the elections of people's deputies, conducted on the basis of a new electoral law in an atmosphere of competetion and freedom of expression of views by all candidates.

Lukyanov also described the results of the Congress of People's Deputies and the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Members of the U.S. delegation thanked him for the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the organisation of elections in the Soviet Union.

They observed that Americans are greatly interested in processes of perestroika in the Soviet Union.

The election campaign and the work of the congress of people's deputies are regarded in the United States as evidence of the inevitability of changes taking place in Soviet society.

In the course of the conversation the sides favoured continued contacts between the Soviet Central Electoral Commission and the U.S. Federal Election Commission in order to exchange experience in organising elections to state bodies.

The Soviet commission was invited to send a delegation to the United States on a return visit in 1990.

The conversation was attended by Vladimr Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, and Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR.

Delegation Ends Moscow Visit

LD1306213189 Moscow TASS in English 2038 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—Chairman of the Federal Election Commission of the USA Danny McDonald told a news conference in Moscow today that talks with Soviet officials were constructive and useful. The delegation of the Federal Election Commission of the USA he heads arrived in the Soviet Union for the first time at the invitation of the Central Electoral Commission for the election of the USSR people's deputies.

Danny McDonald sees the most promising directions of further cooperation in the areas of electoral law, questions of holding election campaigns, working out measures to prevent falsification of election results. An agreement was reached on a reply visit to the USA of a delegation of the Central Electoral Commission for the election of USSR people's deputies. The visit will be timed for the election to the U.S. Congress next year.

The American delegation was received in the Kremlin by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet. During the conversation he told the guests about the results of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The delegation also had a meeting with Boris Yeltsin, people's deputy, chairman of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Construction and Architecture. The guests were present at one of the meetings of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. During a tour of the country, they were received in the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies, in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine.

The delegation of the Federal Election Commission of the USA left Moscow this evening.

Ligachev Receives U.S. Banker 12 Jun

PM1306113189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Relations Are Deepening"]

[Text] J. Chrystal, chairman of the Board of the "Bankers Trust" of Iowa, is visiting our country within the framework of broadening and deepening bilateral USSR-U.S. economic ties. He has shown keen interest in the transformations in the Soviet agro-industrial complex and in contemporary agrarian policy in our country.

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received J. Chrystal at his request 12 June. They discussed the prospects for creating joint agricultural processing enterprises. During the conversation they examined questions of cooperation in enhancing the skills of agro-industrial complex workers, especially training visits for Soviet specialists to the United States and for U.S. farmers to the USSR.

There was also talk of economically accountable and lease-cooperative relations in the countryside in conjunction with scientific and technical progress under conditions of diversity and equality of forms of ownership and economic activity in the agrarian sector of the USSR economy. Attention was drawn to the process of amalgamating livestock units in the United States.

I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, took part in the conversation.

GSFG Commander Meets U.S. Counterpart in FRG

PM1306160189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jun 89 Single Edition p 3

["Our correspondent" report: "Meeting of Commanders in Chief"]

[Text] A meeting has taken place in Heidelberg (FRG) between the commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the commander in chief

of U.S. Ground Forces in Europe. Army General B. Snetkov arrived at the U.S. Ground Forces European headquarters on a return visit at the invitation of General C. Saint within the framework of the plan of contacts between the USSR and U.S. armed forces for 1989-1990, adopted by the chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff last July.

The Soviet delegation included Lieutenant General V. Fursin, GSFG chief of staff, and other generals and officers. Participating in the meeting on the U.S. side were Lieutenant General Dzh. Stotser [name as translitерated], deputy commander in chief, and other representatives of the U.S. Ground Forces European Command.

During the 2-day visit the commanders in chief exchanged opinions on a wide range of questions. The great stability in the work of the military liaison missions was noted, and their importance in the matter of the further fruitful development of relations between the GSFG and the U.S. Ground Forces in Europe was emphasized.

Army General B. Snetkov, commander in chief of the GSFG, and the generals and officers accompanying him visited the location of a U.S. troop garrison at Schweinfurt and troop firing grounds of the U.S. Army's 7th Training Command at Grafenwoehr. The Soviet guests familiarized themselves with the life and routine of U.S. servicemen and with the organization of combat training for units and subunits. They were shown individual models of U.S. Army weaponry and military hardware, and their combat potential was demonstrated. The Soviet generals and officers had meetings with representatives of the command and with servicemen of the 3d Mechanized Division and the 1st Armored Division of the U.S. troops in Europe.

The commander in chief of the U.S. Ground Forces in Europe gave a dinner in honor of the GSFG commander in chief, at which Army General B. Snetkov and Gen C. Saint noted the importance of this visit for further deepening mutual understanding and strengthening trust between the USSR and U.S. armed forces.

The visit of the GSFG commander in chief took place in an amicable atmosphere and ended with an official send-off ceremony in Grafenwoehr.

Soviet-U.S. Standing Commission Meets 14 Jun

LD1406154689 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Geneva June 14 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. Standing Consultative Commission met for its regular session here today.

The Commission was formed under the memorandum on the understanding between the Governments of the USSR and the United States of December 21, 1972 to assist in implementing the goals and provisions of the agreements on strategic arms limitation and on measures to reduce the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war, which were concluded between the USSR and the United States.

U.S. Veto of Security Council Resolution Viewed

LD1006161689 Moscow TASS in English 1142 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] New York June 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

The United States on Friday vetoed a U.N. Security Council resolution condemning Israel's policy and practices in the occupied territories.

The draft resolution, submitted by non-aligned Security Council members, expressed profound concern and anxiety over the growing sufferings of the Palestinian people in the territories.

It also urged Israel to recognise and fully implement the Geneva convention for the protection of civilian persons in time of war.

Fourteen countries voted in favour of the resolution, with the United States being the only Security Council member to vote against it.

The U.S. veto gave rise to just indignation at the U.N. headquarters as the draft resolution took into account the urgent need for measures to stop the terror and deportation of Palestinians and to protect them in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

The resolution was above all of a humane nature, while its balanced provisions offered a generally-acceptable compromise.

The Security Council has completed the discussion of the Palestinian problem, started on June 6. The overwhelming majority of speakers called on the Security Council to fulfil its obligations as requried by the charter, take effective measures to protect Palestinians who have fallen victim to the escalation of violence on the part of Israeli occupation troops, and promote a comprehensive Middle East settlement.

Alexander Belonogov of the Soviet Union said that in the Soviet delegation's view there are now favourable conditions in the region for advancing toward peace.

He said a broad consensus had been reached for the convoction of an international conference on the Middle East, adding that such a change in the international community's sentiments was not fortuitous. It was, above all, the result of the staunchness and heroism of

the Palestinians who have continued the courageous peaceful uprising, or intifada, against the Israeli occupation for a year and a half now, the Soviet ambassador said.

Another important aspect, he went on, is that the uprising is firmly supported by Arab peoples, socialist and non-aligned countries, and the public opinion in the East and the West.

"The balanced and constructive policy by the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which has given a serious impetus to political efforts to achieve settlement, facilitates a turn to peace in the region," Belonogov said.

He said that Israel's unyielding policy remains a stumbling block against this background.

"We call on the Israeli Government to revise its negative stand join in international efforts to reach a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict, including its core—The Issue of Palestine," the Soviet representative said.

U.S. Doctors Help Rail Accident Victims

LD1106032289 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

A group of American experts in the treatment of little children for burns and related diseases arrived in Moscow today on board the Boeing-747 jumbo jet jointly chartered by the Soviet Aeroflot and the Pan-American airlines. The group headed by Doctor David Herndon, includes three other physicians, a nurse and a technician.

Concurrently with the American specialists, a load of necessary equipment and medicine was delivered to Moscow. The stay of the American group in the Soviet Union is sponsored by the Soviet Ministry of Health. The American physicians have left for Ufa in Bashkiria to render assistance to those injured in the railcrash in the southern Urals. The disaster occurred as a result of the explosion caused by the leakage of gas from the pipeline not far from the tracks.

"This is the pioneer group of many American physicians who responded to the Soviet appeal for help. During our week-long stay in Ufa, we shall do all we can to help those injured by the blast, especially children, and alleviate the work of Soviet colleagues. The Soviet Union is not the only place in the world where disasters like this occur and we are well aware of the strain under which Soviet physicians are now toiling to save lives," David Herndon told TASS.

The same flight brought to the Soviet Union unique medical equipment, Doctor Herndon said. There are special devices for extending human skin as damage was done to large areas of epidermis, special bandages, and third-generation antibiotics capable of killing germs in wounds, special nutrients and liquid sustainers.

Another group of American medical experts and nurses, including military physicians from Texas, will be airlifted to Moscow Sunday by a military plane. They will travel further to Ufa, too.

USSR Criminals Operating in New York

LD1306211689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 13 Jun 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] They say that employees of the American Federal Bureau of Investigation and the New York Crime Police are now intensively studying Babel's ODESSKIYE RASSKAZY [Odessan Stories], not because a burning interest in Soviet literature has been awakened in them, but because there is no reference book on Russian organized crime in the United States. The stories about Benya Krik have begun to act as a guidebook for U.S. detectives on the criminal underground of the New York district of Brighton Beach, where Russian emigres have concentrated. Dim-witted U.S. gangsters could never have conceived that gas can be diluted with water. A criminal who, prior to receiving an exit visa, did 10 years in a Siberian camp for particularly large-scale embezzlement, then made a fortune of tens of millions of dollars from a gas station in the United States, until he was exposed.

Criminal craftsmen from Odessa and Kiev were caught manufacturing counterfeit money. Prior to the police raid, their underground factory managed to manufacture counterfeit denominations worth $25 million. U.S. specialists have suddenly discovered to their horror that the United States is flooded with items bearing the Faberge mark. These antique items were mass produced at Brighton Beach.

FBI officials regard the Russian mafia as more dangerous than the Italian Cosa Nostra. The fact of the matter is that the Russian criminals, in contrast to the ignorant Sicilians, have, at a very minimum, a complete secondary education, a New York policeman complained to a correspondent from THE NEW YORK TIMES, and some even have documents testifying to postgraduate degrees.

Of course, you could say that as we do not have highly complex technology for export, we at least export highly technical criminals. However, jokes aside, the conclusion suggests itself: The fight against the world criminal underground requires world cooperation. The first experience of such cooperation between the USSR and other countries already exists in the fight against the drug business.

China

NOVOSTI Chairman Comments on Beijing Events

PM1406153689 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 24, 11 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by Albert Vlasov, NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY board chairman: "After Liberating Tiananmen"]

[Text] For two months the world has gazed with bated breath at this point on our planet—the central square of the Chinese capital. How will it all end? On June 4 Beijing finally announced: Today, the operation to liberate Tiananmen square of the people continuing their sit-in was completed at 5 a.m. All these people have left the square." Tiananmen was freed by troops after martial law was imposed in some districts of Beijing. Tanks, infantry combat vehicles and armoured personnel carriers (APC) forced out the strikers. There was resistance in the streets adjoining Tiananmen square—dozens of charred military vehicles are seen there. According to eyewitness statements, there are considerable casualties.

So, events in China have assumed a dramatic character. Blood was shed and this, naturally, arouses profound regret and anxiety in China and beyond its borders, but these feelings didn't mean the same in all countries.

Washington, Paris and Bonn officially condemned the use of force against demonstrators and strikers. Prime Minister of Australia Hawke cancelled his planned visit to the People's Republic of China as an expression of his "profound disappointment" with developments there. The Commission of European Communities refused to hold talks with the Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade who had arrived in Brussels. Sweden postponed its Defence Minister's visit to Beijing...

Unfortunately, we must ask whether some assessments and conclusions are not too hasty? Don't they sometimes look like attempts to exert pressure on Beijing which only aggravate the situation in China?

I think it is worth recalling what the student demonstrations of the late 1960s were for many of the countries which today are so hastily judging China.

I believe that many of my countrymen, if not the absolute majority, were satisfied with the statement of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR on events in China: Devoid of any moralizing and pressure, it fully conforms with our policy of asserting the priority of human values in international contacts, unreservedly leaving to the Chinese people their right to solve their own problems.

At the same time, the statement of the Congress proceeds from the moral imperative—to seek a road to an idea common to all mankind jointly with other peoples. This road cannot be sprinkled with blood—we understood this after the tragic events in Tbilisi, which took place when the conflict that ended in the morning of June 4 was just starting. We found in ourselves enough strength to assess the incident in Tbilisi honestly so that such a thing would never be repeated. Do we pretent indifference on seeing that a misfortune, resembling ours, but on a much larger scale, had hit our good neighbour?

I see the signs of a similar approach in some Western countries. By condemning unanimously the use of force against demonstrators, the West takes the serious risk of aggravating its geostrategic relations with China. It is taking a risk at a time when the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is causing much anxiety in some Western capitals, without grounds. It takes the risk without even considering material losses.

What are the motives? The West's interest in political stability in China (even though maintaining trade relations, effective functioning of many billions of Western capital investments also play a significant role). But aren't we interested in this too, even though our considerations differ in principle?

Let's agree that joining Moscow's voice to those of the countries sharing concern about the dramatic situation in China is not merely a tribute to the times but a manifestation of a sincere striving to ensure peace and prosperity for the Chinese people, which stems from respect for their sovereign rights.

Kazakh Delegation Promotes Trade With PRC

LD1406124889 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 0100 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Summary] Trade relations have been established between Semipalatinsk and the town (Ufung) in the PRC. A delegation from Kazakhstan visited the town at the invitation of the mayor. They visited more than 20 enterprises. Enterprises of (Ufung) can supply Semipalatinsk with various consumer goods. There are proposals to set up joint enterprises for the production of knitted outerwear, building slabs, an enterprise for the production of soft drinks, a photographic combine, and a Chinese resturant and shop. It is proposed to supply China, in return, with raw materials, timber, building materials, construction steel, cable, and other goods.

Northeast Asia

Naval Exercise To Be Held in Sea of Japan in Jul

HK0906103189 Quezon City MALAYA in English 8 Jun 89 p 2

[Text] The Pacific Navy of the Soviet Union is holding July 10 to 12 its first military exercise northwest of Japan, Soviet Embassy charge d'affaires Aleksandr Losyukov said yesterday.

Losyukov said the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs has informed the embassies of China, North Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Canada, India, Australia, New Zealand, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand of the military exercise and has invited each country to send two observers.

"This is the first time in my memory that this (military exercise in the northwest part of the Japan Sea) is taking place," Losyukov said.

He said the exercise, which will make use of 20 warships, 37 aircraft and helicopters and 10,000 men, is part of the preparation for the defense of the Soviet coast.

In a recent interview with PRAVDA, Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov belied allegations of a Soviet military threat in the Far East.

He said the armed forces of U.S. and Japan have "a 2 to 1 advantage over the Soviet forces in troop strength, a 4-to-1 edge in large surface ships, an absolute advantage in surface ships carrying cruise missiles and a more than 2-to-1 superiority in tactical attack and seaborne aircraft."

Yazov said the Soviet Union has 2-to-1 advantage over the U.S. and Japanese forces in tanks and a 1.5-to-1 superiority in personnel carriers, armored vehicles and artillery systems.

Exchange of Warship Visits With Japan Studied

OW0906220789 Tokyo KYODO in English 1126 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Tokyo, June 9 KYODO—The Soviet Union may propose an exchange of goodwill visits by Japanese and Soviet warships, Soviet Embassy sources said Friday.

The sources, who meet with Japanese reporters in a regular session once every three weeks, said the Soviet Union is also studying whether to invite Japanese Self-Defense Forces officers to the Soviet military academy.

The sources renewed a Soviet invitation for Japan and 14 other noncommunist countries to send observers to a large-scale exercise of its Pacific Fleet in the Sea of Japan in July.

The Soviet Union is looking forward to Japan sending observers to the drill, the sources said, adding that Japan will not necessarily invite Soviet officers in return.

The sources also said troops in the Soviet-occupied northern islands are among the 120,000 men to be theoretically cut from the Far East. Such a move, however, will depend on Japan's reaction, they said.

Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, in an interview with the Communist Party Paper PRAVDA on May 28, revealed that 597,600 troops are deployed in the Far East. Of those, some 20 percent or 120,000 men are to be cut between 1989 and 1990 under a pledge made in Beijing on May 17 by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Soviet sources said the Soviet Navy has slowed its activities in the Asia-Pacific region because naval training has become purely defensive.

More Japanese Relief Supplies Arrive in Moscow

OW1506051489 Tokyo KYODO in English 0233 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, June 14 KYODO—A second consignment of relief supplies from the Japanese Government for those injured in the recent railway train disaster caused by a gas pipeline blast in the Soviet Ural region arrived at Moscow Airport on Wednesday.

The goods, valued at 23 million yen, include medical instruments such as supersonic-wave inhalers and liquid food. The first consignment arrived here June 11.

In the accident that occurred on June 3, the death toll has reached 607 and many injured people are still hospitalized, according to a Wednesday report in a soviet newspaper.

CPSU Law Enforcement Experts Visit Mongolia

PM1406152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], a delegation of CPSU party workers headed by V.Ye. Sidorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department, visited the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] 5-10 June and was acquainted with the MPRP's experience of activity in the leadership of law-enforcement organs.

The delegation was received by B. Dejid, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee.

South Korean Police, Student Clashes Reported

OW1406051189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1055 GMT 13 Jun 89

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Vitaliy Dvinin]

[Text] The film that we received from Seoul captured the clash of demonstrators with police. This time it was the students who became the object of police repression. [Video shows student, police clashes] The situation was caused by the Seoul regime banning representatives of South Korean youth from participating in the 12th International Festival of Youth which will be held in July in Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The students of Yonsei University, who attempted to hold a demonstration to demand that the ban on participation in the festival be lifted, were bottled up by the

Seoul police. In a student village attached to another university in the capital, the South Korean police searched for pro-communist literature about the festival. All in all, more than 20,000 Seoul police were mobilized to control student demonstrations. The authorities have warned that anyone calling for participation in the youth festival will be subjected to harsh punishment.

All mention of the Pyongyang festival in student newspapers, banners, and other publications is proscribed. It is reported that several hundred South Korean students have already been arrested. Both students and police have been wounded during clashes.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Using Philippine Bases as Nuclear 'Stations'

HK1506034389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] The United States' military facilities in the Philippines are being used as a transit station for nuclear weapons. This was stated by Philippine Acting Foreign Secretary Jose Ingles, who declared that it is no secret that there are nuclear weapons in the Philippines. Jose Ingles is the first high government official to confirm the presence of nuclear weapons in the archipelago, which in effect violate the antinuclear provision in the country's constitution.

In this connection, American foreign affairs representatives say that the United States Government will maintain its policy of neither admitting nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons on its bases. This means that the American practice of sowing fear on an international scale will continue.

According to the conditions embodied in the agreement signed by American and Filipino negotiators last year, Washington agreed to first obtain permission from Manila before it stationed any type of nuclear weapons in their military bases in the Philippines.

Meanwhile President Corazon Aquino has directed Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos to look into the possibility that the United States has violated the terms of the military bases agreement. In a speech to newsmen in Manila, the president referred to the last review of the agreement, when the United States agreed that it would remove all its missiles from the bases and seek permission from the Filipinos before bringing in any missiles in the future. President Aquino stressed this, saying, we wish to ensure our security, and we must ensure that the agreement is honored. The two military bases in Clark Field and Subic Bay are among the largest military facilities which the United States have outside their country. The agreement covering these bases expires in 1991.

SRV's General Le Duc Anh To Pay Visit in Jun

LD1606075489 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—It was announced here today that Army General Le Duc Anh, defense minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, will pay an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union in the second half of June, 1989, at the invitation of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet defense minister.

Kochetov, Lao Deputy Defense Minister Hold Talks

PM1406145789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jun 89 Single Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, received Army General C. Sai-gnakon, candidate member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo and Lao People's Democratic Republic first deputy defense minister, who is in the USSR, on 10 June.

They had a friendly conversation on questions of mutual interest.

Australian National Party Group Visits Uzbekistan

PM1506105589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Guests of Uzbekistan"]

[Text] Tashkent, 12 Jun—A delegation of the Australian National Party led by B. Lloyd, deputy leader of the party, is becoming acquainted with the life of Uzbekistan.

The guests had a conversation today with A.P. Romanovskiy, deputy chairman of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The members of the delegation have seen the sights of Tashkent and visited a collective farm [kolkhoz] in Tashkent Oblast. They have shown an interest in how the republic is resolving the problems of irrigation, agricultural production, and ecological issues.

Near East & South Asia

Bhutto Reaffirms 'Hard Line' on Afghan Settlement

PM1506082089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jun 89 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Pursuing a Hard Line"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Jun—According to the joint American-Pakistani scenario, Afghanistan may be the scene of renewed bitter fighting in the next few weeks. As

representatives of the U.S. Administration and sources in Congress are stating that large-scale opposition military operations against the Kabul government are expected.

That is one of the principal results of the talks held here last week by Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, who, according to reports, reached agreement with the White House to "follow the previous course" in relation to Afghanistan. This means the continuation of interference in Afghan internal affairs, every possible military-political and economic support for the mujahidin, and attempts to overthrow the Kabul government. As a "senior official spokesman for the administration," who asked not to be named, noted, at the American-Pakistani talks it was decided to keep to a "hard line" categorically excluding the possibility of the formation of a coalition government in Afghanistan with the participation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA]. Despite a number of Bhutto's pronouncements which could be regarded as an indication of her commitment to a political settlement, during her stay in Washington the Pakistani premier dispelled all doubts about her position. At talks in the White House and in public speeches she unequivocally stated that there is no room for a government involving the PDPA and President Najibullah in her notion of a political settlement. It must be said that Bhutto's attitude received the full support of Washington, which the words of Secretary of State Baker summarized: "Our policy has not changed."

It is quite obvious that by deliberately prolonging the bloodshed in Afghanistan, Washington and Islamabad are taking all responsibility upon themselves for keeping alive the source of tension, and for the destruction and suffering of a nation that has already suffered so much.

U.S.-Pakistan Afghan Policy Reassessment Needed

PM1406154189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jun 89 Single Edition p 3

[Article by V. Vinogradov, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA international observer, under the rubric "The World Today—Problems and Opinions": "Afghanistan Is Tired of War"]

[Text] On the very eve of Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's arrival in the United States, THE NEW YORK TIMES carried a remarkable article. It said, inter alia, that "it is time to reassess U.S. policy on Afghanistan from the ground up, especially as B. Bhutto, who is coming to Washington on a visit, is pressing for changes." The Pakistani prime minister's recent statements have indeed shown that, despite strong opposition from the military top brass, she is ready to seek opportunities for a political settlement of the situation in and around Afghanistan. The fact that B. Bhutto has dismissed the influential General H. Gul, who was considered to be the "godfather" behind the operation to besiege Jalalabad, from the post of chief of Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence has made a particular impression.

Now, when the Pakistani prime minister's U.S. visit has only just ended, it is still not possible to make a categorical assessment of the talks in the U.S. capital. Although encouraging statements were made there. Thus, following his meeting with B. Bhutto, President G. Bush said that the United States is prepared together with Pakistan to examine "any serious way" of achieving a political solution of the Afghan problem. In turn B. Bhutto, indicating her complete agreement with the United States on this question, noted that "Pakistan remains committed to a political settlement of the Afghan problem whereby the bold Afghan people will be entitled to freely choose their own government without outside interference."

There is no denying the correctness of these words. But the Washington talks also touched on other questions concerning Afghanistan, albeit indirectly. Primarily the fact that the United States may increase its military aid to Pakistan by supplying it, in particular, with another 60 F-16 fighter bombers to supplement the 40 such aircraft already in service with the Pakistani Air Force. Soviet diplomatic circles believe that, if the armed conflict in Afghanistan escalates, it cannot be ruled out that the new U.S. arms shipments to Pakistan will ultimately be designed to exacerbate the situation in Afghanistan. Pakistan, as is well known, is one of the main suppliers of arms to the Afghan opposition and allows its territory to be widely used for these purposes. Most irrefutable data exist on this score and have been made public in the UN Security Council.

It is indisputable that if large new consignments of U.S. arms are sent to Pakistan, which may try to use them to exert pressure on the legitimate Afghan Government, this will only help further complicate the situation in Afghanistan and continue the fratricidal war there. India's NATIONAL HERALD rightly pointed out recently that "if a political settlement is not secured in Afghanistan, the bloodshed there will continue and no side will achieve a decisive victory. But military operations within the country can end very soon if the United States ceases its arms shipments to the mujahidin or, at least, uses these shipments as a lever to compel the hard-liners to sit down at the negotiating table."

It is, of course, no coincidence that I have cited such a long quotation. It accurately reflects the essence of the current situation in Afghanistan. Admittedly, one thing must be said in clarification. As for Kabul, it is not seeking a decisive victory on the battlefield. The Afghan Government has long emphasized the national reconciliation policy, inviting the hard-liners to sit down at the negotiating table. But the leaders of the Peshawar-based "alliance of seven" reject this means of settling the conflict. Relying on the West's generous military aid, they are prepared to continue waging the fratricidal war in order to achieve their self-seeking aims.

But one cannot overlook the fact that the mujahidin themselves, whom the hard-line leaders are using to wage the battle against the Afghan people, are beginning to

realize the ignoble aims of the Peshawar seven. Thus at a press conference in Kabul, foreign journalists were able to meet several field commanders who until recently opposed the Afghan Government. They included the following: Haji Hamra from Konduz Province; Sabzyar and Muhammad Hasan from Bagdhis Province; and Turan Taher from Ghowr Province. Journalists understood from their answers that a certain proportion of the field commanders joined the ranks of the counterrevolution after Soviet troops were brought into Afghanistan. However, following the withdrawal of the last Soviet soldier from Afghan territory, they favored the national reconciliation policy. Turan Taher said that many field commanders reacted positively to Kabul's course of restoring national accord and peace.

The commanders spoke in detail about the fact that, even after the Geneva agreements were signed, many areas of Pakistan remained a base for the training of counterrevolutionary armed formations, which are then sent into Afghan territory. Rebels are trained in the use of modern heavy weapons and rocket launchers to bombard cities and also in the use of mobile "Stinger" and "Blowpipe" anti-aircraft missile complexes in Pakistani camps. It is generally Pakistanis, Americans, and Arabs from certain Middle East countries who act as instructors and advisers.

According to the meeting's participants, attempts by the Pakistani military to "crush" the Afghan problem and solve it in a manner that suits Pakistan are arousing increasing indignation among the members of armed formations. Thus Sabzyar announced that his last trip to Pakistan convinced him that the counterrevolution's prospects are dwindling with every passing day. "The leaders of the seven," he said, "are living in luxury, while it is our lot to fight for their interests. We do not want to obey instructions from abroad which constantly incite us to step up hostilities against our own people and bombard cities and population centers. We do not like destroying our own country."

It is significant that even in the United States, whose military aid is the fuel that prevents the Afghan conflagration from dying down, people are beginning to realize the perniciousness of this course of prolonging the armed conflict. Admittedly, still not to the extent of abandoning it overnight. But nevertheless... Of course, there are still many people in the United States, as in Pakistan, who insist on further arms shipments to the rebels and on waging the war in Afghanistan to a victorious conclusion. But it is now impossible not to take account of realities and the fact that the mujahidin's "military campaign" is stalemated.

For instance, none other than A. Beilenson, chairman of the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, wrote the following in THE NEW YORK TIMES: "The Afghans are turning their anger on the United States," he notes, "since we are helping prolong the bloodshed and killing in this war-ravaged country by continuing to send the rebels weapons." It would be surprising if the Afghans did not turn their anger on the United States! For the rocket shells and missiles that the rebels fire daily on Afghan cities, sowing death and destruction there, bear U.S. markings. A. Beilenson concludes his article with the following words: "The administration would be quite correct to decide to abandon its interference in Afghan affairs, ceasing its military aid to the mujahidin and allowing the Afghan people to settle the conflict themselves."

A timely appeal. The Afghan people are already dead tired of the long fratricidal war. However, the leaders of the hard-line counterrevolution are still receiving U.S. weapons and dollars, via Pakistani mediation. In turn, they are continuing to put these weapons in the hands of hirelings, paying for their crimes against their own people with U.S. dollars.

Today, almost 4 months after the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan, the Afghan problem is still a painful and acute regional conflict. It is not only the Afghan people but the whole world that is waiting for Washington and Islamabad to finally begin really implementing the Geneva agreements and embark on the path of constructive political dialogue with the legitimate Kabul government. The gamble on force is clearly futile. India's HINDU attests that "Najibullah's government and the Afghan Army have substantially strengthened their positions as a result of the fighting for Jalalabad. To continue insisting that Najibullah must not participate in the settlement process is to completely disregard the real state of affairs. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is a force to be reckoned with today. The sooner the United States and Pakistan realize that, the better it will be for the people of Afghanistan."

The very near future should show whether there will be any changes in the policy of Washington and Islamabad toward Afghanistan following the talks in the U.S. capital. Or will words just remain words while the bloodshed in Afghanistan continues, substantially complicating the situation not only in the region but also throughout the world?

Petrovskiy Meets POW Group Before Pakistan Trip
LD1406153589 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 14 Jun 89

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 14 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy today met the delegation of the Soviet public involving representatives of the popular and coordinating committees for the liberation of Soviet servicemen who were taken prisoner in Afghanistan, which flies to Pakistan in the next few days to conduct talks with the Afghan opposition.

Petrovskiy told the delegation about practical work which is carried out along the line of the USSR Foreign Ministry and other agencies to return to the homeland within the shortest possible time Soviet servicemen who found themselves in the hands of the Afghan opposition. He noted that the USSR Foreign Ministry will continue to do everything depending on it to successfully solve this issue and give maximum support to the Soviet public in carrying out its humane action.

During the talk they discussed questions of further intensifying and pooling efforts to bring Soviet people languishing in prison back home, and underscored the need to build up activity via all channels—official and those of people's diplomacy.

They noted with satisfaction the understanding which the Pakistani authorities displayed toward the delegation's trip. Hope was expressed that during the delegation's stay in Pakistan, too, the necessary constructive assistance will be given to it in dealing with the humanitarian problem as pressing and important to the Soviet people as is the liberation from prison of Soviet people.

General Gromov on Afghan Rebel 'Hostilities'

LD1406125289 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 14 TASS—"Bandit formations in Afghanistan will be unable to achieve their goals through the use of arms," General Boris Gromov, former commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, said.

Colonel-General Gromov, now commander of the troops of the Kiev Military District, gave a telephone interview to TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy in connection with the invigoration of rebel hostilities.

The nine-year long war experience, General Gromov believes, shows that hostilities in Afghanistan are always in their peak in summer. This happens, he said, because mountain passes become open. Through these passes extremists receive big consignments of weapons and ammunition, and also food supplies. "This summer is no exception—the rebels launched vigorous combat actions which are expected to recede only in autumn," he said.

General Gromov is confident that the governmental troops are able of controlling the situation in full. "Governmental troops have acquired combat experience. At a time of trial they patently showed that they can befittingly defend the April Revolution. They have learnt the rebel tactics well and mastered contemporary combat equipment," he said.

"The escalation of the Afghan conflict is linked with the continuing military aid to rebel formations, mainly from the United States, and also Pakistan. Without that support the extremists would have been unfit for combat," General Gromov said in conclusion.

Afghan Government-Rebel Attacks 13-14 Jun

LD1406183789 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Kabul June 14 TASS—During the past twenty-four hours, extremist rebel formations launched a missile-and-shell barrage against Tarin Kowt city, administrative center of the Oruzgan Province. As a result of the barbarous action, six civilians were killed and ten were injured. On the same day, Jalalabad, Khowst and Qandahar were also bombarded. Civilians and military were killed and wounded.

The units of the Afghan regular army, supported by the air force and artillery, dealt blows to the positions of the rebels in the Nangarhar Province. 312 people are reported dead, 252 injured.

Another forty rebels were put out of action as a result of the government troops action against rebel concentrations in the region of Khowst.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan addressed three more notes to the U.N. Good Offices Mission citing new facts of violation by Pakistan of the Geneva accords.

East Europe

Anti-Soviet Demonstration in Budapest Reported

LD1506212189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2045 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, 15 Jun (TASS)—A demonstration organized by opposition youth groups was held outside the Soviet Embassy in the Hungarian People's Republic late in the evening of 15 June. During the demonstration, in which some 200 people took part, demands were expressed for "full and final withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and withdrawal of the Hungarian People's Republic from the Warsaw Pact."

The participants raised black flags and banners of the 1956 counterrevolutionaries, and unrolled placards with the slogan "Russians Go Home". Speakers at the gathering [skhodka] claimed that Hungary "is not a free country, and the Soviet troops did not liberate it in 1945, but occupied it". Membership in the Warsaw Pact, these orators asserted, serves the interests not of the country, but of the Communist Party. They held forth about "the threat of intervention from Moscow" and called on the West to help them, and also urged the setting up of a government that would immediately start talks on the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

Budapest Correspondent Reports on Nagy Reburial
LD1606100889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Report from correspondent Vladimir Stefanov in Budapest]

[Text] The following report is from Hungary. At the present moment, the ceremony of the reburial of the remains of Imre Nagy and his comrades-in-arms is taking place in Budapest. Thirty-one years ago they were executed under the sentence of an unjust court.

Vladimir Stefanov, our correspondent in Budapest, reports:

[Stefanov] The case against Imre Nagy and his comrades was examined not all that long ago by the country's procuracy. The facts and data which were uncovered, as the statement of the Supreme Procuracy points out, have made it possible in particular to draw the conclusion that the prosecution of Imre Nagy and of the group of his comrades-in-arms, their trial, and the court's verdict, were unfounded and illegal.

In connection with this, Hungary's Supreme Court has scheduled for 6 July the examination of the case for their rehabilitation. Even though 6 July has not arrived, the civilian rehabilitation of politicians with whose names the events of 1956 in Hungary are linked is already an accomplished fact. The government of the Hungarian People's Republic made a statement yesterday in which it is pointed out that the Council of Ministers honors the memory of Imre Nagy and his comrades, and of all victims of the people's uprising and of the 1956 national tragedy.

The government intends to submit a bill for examination by the parliament regarding the certification of the innocence of the participants in the 1956 events, who were prosecuted for antistate activity.

It is necessary to note also that there is no common opinion in Hungarian society about the political activities of Imre Nagy and his supporters. Nevertheless, the humane action of the reburial with proper homage of the remains of those who were put to death must serve the purpose of national reconciliation and rallying, which is so necessary now for the Hungarian people.

Hungary's Grosz on Emerging 'Signs of Anarchy'
PM1306105189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Without Hasty Decisions"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 Jun—K. Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], has addressed a party conference in Gyor-Sopron Megye. According to MTI, he said in part: At present, concern for the fate of the state and of individual people is mounting among party members and nonparty people. Signs of anarchy have been observed in the country. A section of the population has turned away from politics and is focusing its main attention on its material situation and the country's economic difficulties.

In parallel with the implementation of the process of democratization in Hungary, manifestations of hostility have appeared. For instance, red stars are being removed. K. Grosz declared that he condemns such actions. Party members are rightly asking: How could it have come to this, the speaker said. There is only one answer: The deterioration of the economic situation and the mistakes made within the system of political institutions have brought the country, society, and the party to the current situation. The MSZMP, Communists, party officials, and the leadership still possess reserves to enable them to truly become the party of reforms.

Hungarian Party Congress Agenda Viewed
18070311 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by S. Melnikov, TASS correspondent in Budapest: "Don't Let It Slip Through Our Fingers..."]

[Text] In place of the Hungarian party conference planned for this year, a congress of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] will be held. This was announced at the MSZMP Central Committee plenum which closed recently. Another plenum resolution, in essence, confirmed the rehabilitation of the former chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, Imre Nagy, executed 30 years ago for his role in the events of 1956.

The association of two such disparate issues on the agenda of a single party plenum says a great deal, first and foremost about the complex political and moral-psychological situation in society. In the year which has passed since the all-Hungarian party conference, political activity in the country has grown noticeably. Scores and hundreds of movements and organizations have appeared. The principles are being laid for a multiparty system. A wave of discussions about the country's future has literally surged through the pages of traditional, as well as new "independent" publications, radio, and television.

It is noteworthy that while it used to be that individual, well-known leaders were criticized, those who, in the opinion of many, committed the most obvious and unforgivable errors, now they more often speak of the fallaciousness of the administrative command system itself which sent them on this path.

Under these conditions, demands for radical renewal of the MSZMP, the country's most influential and authoritative political force, are being heard more frequently. It cannot be said that this work was not going on even earlier. But all the same, communists, dissatisfied with

its pace, finally appealed for the convening of an extraordinary party congress. At first, many in the party leadership felt that conducting a general Hungarian party forum under current circumstances may only seriously weaken the position of the MSZMP in comparison with its opponents. However, in time, it became clear that the very preservation of old methods of party work would do the greatest damage to the MSZMP. Therefore, at the MSZMP Central Committee 8 May Plenum a resolution was adopted to hold an all-Hungarian party conference this coming autumn.

However, as subsequent days showed, many communists felt that even a party conference under current conditions will not bring cardinal changes. Probably for this very reason, the wave of demands to convene a party congress intensified. They resounded quite audibly at the 20 May Szeged meeting of activists of MSZMP reform circles which have appeared throughout the country over the last few months. The activists of reform circles announced their intention not to leave the party, but to "occupy" it, fighting for a predominant influence. The demands for convening a congress were also heard at meetings of many local party committees.

In essence, MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz noted in a recent television interview that holding a congress or a party conference is not an issue of principle. After all, at either of these forums, in effect, one may say the same thing.

As published materials indicate, the MSZMP Central Committee does not intend to let the initiative for party renewal slip through its fingers. In particular, it adopted a resolution not only to hold a congress this year, but to hold it in the most democratic manner possible. As early as the next few weeks, elections of delegates will unfold across the country. They, in turn, will elect their representatives who will directly participate in the preparation of the party forum. By the same token, over the course of several months (the exact date of the congress is still unknown) there will be a broad exchange of opinions and discussions among the party leadership and rank-and-file communists.

A proposal was introduced at the plenum for a possible change in the system of electing the MSZMP Central Committee. It cannot be excluded that the majority of members of the Central Committee will be delegated from below by local organizations. According to another proposal, the party will not elect a Central Committee but a larger board with its own presidium in session twice annually.

The plenum's resolution to convene the congress, the aspiration of the MSZMP Central Committee to the fullest realization of intraparty democracy, are undoubtedly supported by communists. However, many feel that in order to make the changes irreversible, they should thoroughly examine the past and bring clarity to the most contradictory stages of recent history. This was the goal served by the document ratified by the MSZMP Central Committee in connection with the imminent 16 May reinterment of the remains of Imre Nagy.

According to information in the Hungarian press, the review which has begun in Hungary of documents connected with the trial and execution of Imre Nagy has manifested a number of violations of legality and, at times, easily traceable political motivations. In rendering a political evaluation of the personality of I. Nagy, the MSZMP Central Committee emphasized that this leader had to work under extraordinary circumstances without the needed support from the party. Carried away by the course of events, he did not display the requisite resolve and committed serious errors. The information indicates the danger of further division of the nation in the evaluation of the events of 1956, fraught with new shocks. The impending reinterment, as the document notes, will become an act of clemency, a symbol of national reconciliation.

And the evaluations of these events differ diametrically; some call them a counterrevolutionary putsch and others call them a popular uprising. One MSZMP veteran who worked in the party apparatus at that time told me that when Imre Nagy was sent a desperate appeal for help from the Budapest party gorkom [city committee] besieged by the crowd, the answer came through, "So what, you have to break some eggs to make an omelet..." According to other evidence, the government sent the gorkom only promises, although it had exact information on the developing situation. Soon after followed the bloody retribution against party workers. They hanged rank-and-file soldiers from trees by their feet and they tore the heart out of Colonel (Y. Papp) right on the square in front of the gorkom.

This is well remembered in today's Hungary. But in the meanwhile, one may all the more frequently hear that in the events of 1956 one should also see the expression of genuine protest against the "Stalinist model of socialism," against a number of negative aspects of the administrative-bureaucratic system of rule. They also say that the current contradictions between the country's vital interests and the obsolete political methods of leadership must by no means be poured anew into national tragedy.

It is no accident, therefore, that it is the Budapest gorkom, at whose walls unfolded the most tragic events of 1956, that recently proposed to declare 16 June a day of national reconciliation. The first secretary of the city committee, Mihaly Jasso, is empowered to promote the initiative on the participation of the MSZMP in the reinterment of Imre Nagy and his supporters.

The unprecedented activation of political life in Hungary requires an acceleration of the resolution of many complex issues. Tomorrow even this pace may well turn out to be insufficient. Life requires new adjustments.

Well, the Hungarian Communists heeded the call and are prepared to seek new solutions without letting the destiny of reform slip through their fingers.

Withdrawal of Troops From Poland Begins
LD1606081689 Moscow TASS in English 0080 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw June 16 TASS—In accordance with the agreement reached, the withdrawal of a number of units of the Northern Army Group began from Polish territory. The first to leave the hospitable Polish land were the soldiers of a separate truck battalion based in Swidnica, Walbrzyskie Voivodship. They were seen off at a rally which was attended by townspeople, representatives of city authorities, work collectives, the command of the Northern Army Group, the Polish Army, the Polish-Soviet Friendship Association and veterans of the Second World War. The units received the golden badge—an honorary award of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Association.

Polish Politburo Election Postmortem Summarized
PM1306153989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jun 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Summing Up the Elections"]

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] confirms the proposal on creating a broad coalition of forces advocating reforms made in his pre-election speech by W. Jaruzelski, says a report on a PZPR Central Committee Politburo session published here.

It discussed the social and political situation in the country and the preliminary results of the first round of the Polish Sejm and Senate elections.

Dialogue, consensus, and compromise are needed to ensure Poland's development, the report notes. Having decided to hold elections, the party and its coalition allies provided convincing evidence of goodwill. Through joint efforts and by collaborating as partners, they will implement the reforms. As the first round of the elections showed, they will be supported in this by numerous groups of nonparty voters and sympathizers.

A substantial majority of the country's citizens yearn for public order, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo noted. The stability and security of the state will be preserved. Efficiently operating organs and institutions will counteract lawbreaking and anarchy. The supreme interests of Polish statehood, allied commitments, working people's gains, and the socialist values adopted by society must not be damaged in any way.

The first round of the elections was not a success for the party or for the coalition, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo stated. A preliminary analysis shows that this is the result of a complex mixture of political, economic, historical, and psychological factors. The elections took place normally, in a quiet and businesslike atmosphere. The majority of citizens took advantage of their right to participate in the solution of the country's problems; a considerable number, however, ignored the election, which is an important sign.

None of the decisions adopted at the roundtable has lost its immediacy or political significance, the report goes on to say. The party has been, is, and wants to remain a loyal partner, keeping its pledges. It expects the opposition to do the same. Respect for the roundtable accords and the ability to cooperate constructively in the National Assembly will be the measure of the patriotic responsibility of the forces constituting the parliament. The results of the first round of the elections have merely intensified this responsibility.

Polish Legislative Election Results Explained
PM1306151589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 89 p 4

[Article by TASS correspondent V. Volkov for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "'Solidarity' in Front"]

[Text] Warsaw—Yesterday's Polish newspapers were very late in appearing. The official figures on the results of the first round of voting in the elections to the country's Sejm and Senate filled almost three pages with dense text.

Long lines had formed since morning by the newspaper stands. Poles really were very interested in the voting results, even though the preliminary results were already known in general outline. The interest is due to the fact that this time the elections were not simply a question of voting. The voters were actually choosing from among many candidates and were thereby determining Poland's future development path.

In addition to the 460 Sejm deputies, for the first time 100 senators—the members of the newly created upper chamber of parliament, which will play an important role in legislative practice—were being elected as well.

There will be a second round of voting, because in the first round only 165 Sejm deputies polled more than 50 percent and were thus elected, while in the Senate 92 of the 100 places were filled. But certain conclusions may already be drawn now. The election turnout was less than expected: Of the more than 27 million Polish citizens entitled to vote nearly 10 million did not go to the polls. This demonstrates a certain apathy among the population in conditions of continuing economic difficulties.

However, the unprecedentedly lively course of the election campaign and the results of the first round indicate something else: that the voters clearly favored a continuation of the policy of reforms, the implementation of the round table accords, and the continuation of the process of national consensus.

As the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo stressed, the first round of the

elections was not a success for the PZPR or for the coalition. That is due to a complex interaction of political, economic, historical, and psychological factors. But it is also important that the elections were orderly and conducted in a businesslike and calm atmosphere. This showed that a significant majority of Poland's citizens crave social order and calm. The supreme interests of Polish statehood, the alliance commitments, the working people's gains, and the values of socialism must not be harmed in the slightest, the Politburo stressed. The PZPR has confirmed its firm intention to observe the round table accords: It expects the same from the opposition, too, including "Solidarity" which, in the first round of voting, scored a tangible success when its deputies won all of the 35 percent of Sejm seats allocated to non-party people and more than 90 seats in the Senate, where the elections are completely unrestricted.

Certain difficulties appeared after the first round to do with the fact that in the voting for deputies to the Sejm from the Polish national list, consisting of 35 figures whose names are widely known in Poland, including leading members of the PZPR, other parties in the coalition, and its supporters, only 2 were elected as deputies. Under the election law there is no second round of voting for this list. The consequent failure to fill 33 seats in the Sejm is contrary to the country's constitution, which states that the Sejm must have 460 members. Furthermore, the national list included PZPR Central Committee Politburo members M. Rakowski, C. Kiszczak, S. Ciosek, and A. Miodowicz, and figures from other parties and organizations who have made a great contribution to the development of the process of reforms and the achievement of the round table accords.

To resolve the problem it was necessary to hold a session of the round table Coordinating Commission yesterday under the chairmanship of C. Kiszczak and L. Walesa. The commission decided that the government coalition side will ask the Polish State Council to create a legal opportunity for elections to be held for the 33 vacant deputies' seats. They will be held during the second round of voting on June 18. The representatives of "Solidarity," confirming their intention to observe the agreements that have been reached and to implement the round table accords, decided to raise no objection to this proposal. The second round of voting, which will produce the definitive results and expression of the Polish working people's will, is now to come.

West Europe

Last Day of Gorbachev's Visit to FRG Reported

More on Bonn News Conference

LD1506182389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Question and answer portion of Mikhail Gorbachev's 15 June news conference in Bonn—recorded; the translation of the Moscow radio broadcast of Gorbachev's statement at this news conference was published in the 15 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 20-23]

[Text] [Correspondent, in English with simultaneous Russian translation by interpreter] Mr President, CBS news, U.S. television. You said in your toast 2 days ago that you thought the time had come for parallel talks with the Americans on the issue of tactical nuclear missiles. Mr. Bush declared he was ready to discuss this issue after an agreement on conventional armed forces. I would like to ask you whether you consider that you have levers to bring the Americans to the negotiating table a minute earlier than they want. Or do you think you will have simply to wait until they set the schedule?

[Gorbachev] I think that at present, it is neither we nor the Americans who are setting the schedule. A schedule such as would include parallel talks on nuclear tactical weapons is, I think, dictated by the very progress of the processes taking place in Europe and in the world, and by the mood such as one can already speak of, the mood not only of some circles of the public, but of the people of Europe. And I think that we in the Soviet Union and in the United States of America should take account of this.

[Correspondent, in German with simultaneous Russian translation by interpreter] DIE ZEIT, Moscow office. Do you think it possible that in both German states a situation could ever come to pass such that European identity and community could be affirmed in one document?

[Gorbachev] I think everything is possible, but time bequeathed us this world after certain events, after the war, and time itself must sort things out. The current situation in Europe was engendered by a specific time—such are the realities. It is on the basis of these realities that the Helsinki process and many other processes are developing. Thus we owe the present situation in Europe to a certain time. But we hope that time itself will resolve and deal with things. I think that today we welcome the fact that both in the FRG and the GDR there is at least understanding of the fact that—as we note with satisfaction—in both countries everything possible is being done to ensure that the threat of war should never again emanate from German soil.

[Davis, in English with simultaneous Russian translation by interpreter] Okay. I am Evelyn Y. Davis, editor of the Washington newspaper HIGHLIGHTS AND LOWLIGHTS.

The most important element of the agreement on protecting investments that you signed is the freedom of transfer of capital and of profit. Do you intend to sign similar agreements with other countries, in particular with the United States? Your visit to Bonn has been very successful. When will you arrive in Washington for a summit meeting with President Bush?

[Gorbachev] Your first question I can answer as follows: We are in favor of broad development of economic ties with all countries, and, of course, not in the last place

with the United States, and we are ready to discuss all questions that will promote making these ties more dynamic, including resolving the problem of protecting capital investment.

As regards your next question, I will say this: I think that today's level and nature of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America should be fully inclusive of, and in my opinion there is an understanding on this score both on our part and on the part of President Bush's Administration, a regular exchange at all levels, including at summit level. All this is normal. I think that there will be such meetings. But, as regards the time—these are just details.

[Man, in English with simultaneous Russian translation by interpreter] Chris Man, Moscow correspondent of the Good Morning, Britain! program. Many West Germans believe that the Berlin Wall is both a physical and a political barrier on the road to the rapprochement, the complete rapprochement, of your two countries. Do you believe that the common European home that you are aspiring to is possible while the Berlin wall continues to exist?

[Gorbachev] I think that reducing things to saying that the Berlin Wall is the one and only obstacle on the road to building the European home—this would not be taken seriously. We will have to resolve many problems to build the European home in the interests of all peoples, respecting their choice, respecting their traditions, history and creating conditions for their equal, mutually advantageous cooperation. Nothing is everlasting. Let's hope that we are on the right road. The wall sprang up in a specific situation. It was dictated not simply by some malicious intent. The GDR decided to use its sovereign rights and the wall may disappear when the preconditions that gave rise to it cease to apply. I don't see a big problem here.

[Lewis, in English with simultaneous Russian translation by interpreter] Flora Lewis, THE NEW YORK TIMES. The joint declaration that you and Chancellor Kohl signed states that the United States and Canada have the right to a place in the common European home. Could you perhaps explain what you have in mind, and more specifically whether the Soviet Union will find it preferable for the U.S. troops to remain in Europe or for the U.S. troops to leave Europe?

[Gorbachev] In answering your question, the first thing I would like to say is that I—and in this instance I mean the Soviet leadership—cannot conceive of a policy based on realities that sets its sights on constraining the United States and encroaching on its interests. That is not serious. That would mean backing down from the principle of realism, harsh realism, for which we have opted. It is only a realistic evaluation of the situation in the world that has brought us to the new way of thinking, and it is in the light of this that we have evaluated the importance and the role of Soviet-U.S. relations, and of course America's role in the world today. I believe there is an understanding of this role both in the West and in the East, and for this reason we have again deemed it possible to state that in this important document. That is the first thing.

The second thing is that it follows from this that the construction of a pan-European home presupposes the active participation of the United States and Canada, since their involvement over long, over decades, has created the genuine prerequisites for this participation to be constructive and fruitful at this fresh stage in the development of the European process.

I believe that in answering your final question on the U.S. weapons in Europe—that is on how we regard this—I would take this problem in context. I believe that, sure enough, it will be difficult for us to hope to be able to build a comfortable home that is to everybody's taste—a common European home—unless we really set about decisively cutting the military confrontation that is greatest here, in Europe. And, therefore, we have embarked on this road, and I welcome this. We will act in a responsible and constructive fashion. I believe the prospects we have are very hopeful as far as the Vienna talks are concerned.

We now reach the part of the problems that you addressed in your question. At the moment I do not want to go into details, even though I have been invited to do so, because on matters of detail certain divergences have already been noted.

But basically I consider that we correctly posed the question of cutting the presence of foreign troops. Presumably this process will proceed and logically it should advance to the point where such troops should no longer be on foreign territory. So I would look at this seriously and deal with it responsibly, not for the sake of one of us scoring points. I think, thank goodness, we are gradually finishing with this approach, and we have started to occupy ourselves more and more with policies based on reality. Policies based on reality, as you see, yield fruit.

[Unidentified speaker] The floor is given to the most junior correspondent.

[Correspondent, in German with simultaneous Russian translation by interpreter] Mr. Gorbachev, I am from (Mulhof). What would you like to say in particular to the young citizens of the FRG?

[Gorbachev] I would appeal to the youth of both our countries to actively involve themselves in the process of establishing the rapprochement of our peoples and to carry on further this baton of cooperation and trust. That is, in my opinion, our greatest common wish as adults.

[Correspondent] A question from the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN. Many people abroad and also in the Soviet Union, including some members of the Congress

of People's Deputies, consider that you harmed your reputation as a sensitive and progressive person when you proposed that the congress adopt such a soft and neutral statement on the frightful events in China. Do you sincerely think, first of all, that the students, workers, and thousands of other citizens in Beijing who protested for democracy were counterrevolutionaries, and secondly that the Chinese Government was acting justly using arms against peaceful demonstrators? Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I will add to what I said in Beijing and to what we did at the congress. In Beijing, too, I advocated resolving, defusing, and reducing the acuteness of the events that were taking place in Beijing by means of dialogue. Unfortunately, the events became subsequently more acute. I think that you and I do not yet know everything and I have sensed that neither we nor the FRG Government have full information on this.

Therefore now we should, I think and I am convinced of this, display very great responsibility and thoughtfulness in making evaluations. It seems to me that we are all very disturbed about what is happening in China. It seems to me that we are all anxious for the process of deep reforms and transformations not to collapse in that vast country. It seems to me that we all understand that this will cause vast damage to the whole process of improvements in the world. And, therefore, it seems to me that whatever we have perceived, we want the Chinese people and its government to find a way out which will be, will be in the interests of the Chinese people and our common expectations.

It is this and nothing else that has dictated our well-pondered, responsible, and serious position. I think that this does not exclude the fact that we regret much of what has happened.

To say whether these events were counterrevolutionary or not one has to examine the matter. We know...[changes thought] I received a letter from the students which contained much that was interesting. They welcomed the visit. They welcomed the cooperation and the improvement in our relations. They spoke in favor of reforms. In the letter, in essence, they proclaimed the same aims as the CPC. I cannot suspect them of any insidious plans, in this case I am speaking of those who sent this letter. But perhaps such elements do exist, too. The reports and statements from the Chinese Government or at least its individual representatives, said that someone was making use of the real processes, which led to an exacerbation of the internal situation in China. It is necessary to examine everything attentively.

For a report it may be sufficient to have only a little knowledge or even just to hear rumors but for a political statement what is needed are—and all the more so on such major issues of world politics—what is needed are very great knowledge and responsibility.

[Benda] Ales Benda, MLADY SVET, Prague, Czechoslovakia. Mr President.

[Gorbachev] Why have you started calling me mister? [laughter]

[Benda] We are on FRG territory, forgive me. So, Mr Comrade President. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] Thank you.

[Benda] I am a representative of the press of a country which is the only one in Europe to have a joint border with both the USSR and the FRG. For that and other reasons people have been following your visit here. But I would like to ask: A European home has been built here. What place is there for such small countries in this European home; where are we to live, in the basement, on the second floor?

[Gorbachev] Where you are living now, I think. I like your country. And nobody, I don't think...[changes thought] we have no need of an all-European home which deprives people of what they had before. On the contrary, it has to add to what they already have. The common all-European home cannot be built without agreement nor can it be such that people feel worse than they do today—on the contrary, on the contrary. I, therefore, look toward our common European destiny with optimism and confidence, great confidence.

[Gennadiy Gerasimov] The time set aside in the program for our news conference is coming to an end. We can see that there are very many who want to ask questions, and I hope they will forgive me if I allow the Soviet television correspondent to ask a question.

[Correspondent] Soviet television, "Vremya" program. In which area of Soviet- West German relations would you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, like to see the most rapid progress in our cooperation? Secondly, we have all seen the enthusiasm with which you have been welcomed here—literally everywhere the Soviet visitors have been. Before coming to the FRG did you expect that this visit would be held in such an atmosphere, and how do you explain it?

[Gorbachev] Difficult questions, overall, though they are also the simplest. [chuckles] You know, I would like our cooperation to rise to a new dynamism in all directions. Given the topicality of economic cooperation problems—and I sense that there is a lag here—can we really say that, can we agree with this level of politcal dialogue and its activeness? No, we are in favor of an active political dialogue with the government of this big country. And I don't think we would justify our peoples' hopes if we failed to open up broad opportunities for exchanges at all levels by youth exchanges, tourism, at general public levels—broad circles of the public. So you see, I would actually welcome—and this has to be done now—more dynamism in all areas. But I stress still that

for the moment we ought to get to work more thoroughly on economic matters. There's a great deal that remains to be worked on here. There's a need for a kind of adaptation, a kind of organic form, and some work must be done on this.

As for the second question, to the effect whether we did or did not expect the atmosphere in which the visit is proceeding, in particular with regard to the attitude of the broad masses of working people and the broad strata of the public—well, I am of course, receiving information. I could even have left it unsaid; I knew that interest in restructuring, our policy, and the changes is great in this country. I feel that it is the changes in the Soviet Union which are at the bottom of it. They are the main thing. And the second point, no less important, is that people throughout the world want better changes. They have tired of the cold war. So many problems of a global scale are hanging over them. They want changes toward a better world. And since we are seeking, through new thinking, approaches on how to reach solutions to these problems which are worrying the peoples, I feel that this is the second thing which explains the interest in and good will toward the delegation and the visit.

That is the main thing; everything else, I think....[Gorbachev changes thought] There is something else. After all, these two peoples have a particularly unique destiny and it is very much intertwined. It contains pages of cooperation, of very long-standing cooperation, and many points of concurrence. But there is a tragedy as well, and people of the older generation who lived through it want, while they are alive, to set these relations in a channel which makes it possible to extract all the best things from our history and our relations, to learn lessons from the tragedy, and to pass this wisdom and conclusion on to the new generations which are starting life. I think that is also present; I think that is also present.

[Snow, in English with simultaneous Russian interpretation by interpreter] Jon Snow, Independent Television News, British television: Mr President, 2 months ago you made a very successful visit to London. However, 5 weeks later Mrs Thatcher expelled 11 of your diplomats and 3 journalists for so-called espionage. Are you confident that this successful visit will not end the same way?

[Gorbachev] Well, first, I am one of those people who does not start panicking in connection with a particular event—even with such eccentric cases, so to speak. I do not think that it will destroy what has been done in Soviet-British relations in recent years. We made a commensurate reaction—perhaps we even developed a few of Mrs Thatcher's initiatives. Nonetheless, I want to say in public, before the press and the world, that we value relations with Great Britain, and its people, and are prepared to cooperate. I want to use your question to express gratitude for the way the British and their government responded in providing us with assistance in connection with the railway catastrophe. The most experienced people and physicians are taking part, and we have received very important equipment for providing assistance.

This only confirms what I've said. There are more precious things than suspecting each other of espionage. I think you could all be counted as spies, because no one gives as much information as you do—gathers it and strives for it. Indeed if we go that way, we could be back in the cave. Never mind. As a wise man said, even this will pass.

[Komisser, in English with simultaneous Russian translation by interpreter] Lucy Komisser, United States: Foreign Minister Genscher told me yesterday that he thinks the cold war is over. Many people in the FRG and in the United States believe the cold war is over and so there is no longer any military threat on the part of the USSR. Do you think that perhaps, despite certain old formulations in the NATO document, the cold war is over and that the Soviet Union feels no threat from the West, either?

[Gorbachev] I think we've emerged from the period of the cold war. Though there are still frosts and droughts—all that's still with us. But I think all that's natural. It seems to me that there is a profound understanding in the world that we must take a different path, taking account of the interconnectedness, the interdependence, and the imperatives of today's modern world, associated with the new realities which we, too, cannot ignore. We are simply fated to enter a new stage in the development of international relations. I'd call it a peaceful period in the development of international relations.

Thank you for your attention and your cooperation. I always value it highly. [applause] Goodbye.

Correction to Bonn News Conference Statement

LD1506183589

The following corrections pertain to the item published under the subhead "Holds Bonn News Conference" on pages 20-23 of the 15 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT:

Page 21, column two, paragraph seven, sentence six make read: ...conventional weapons to a level that excludes the possibility... (rewording);

sentences 11 and 12 make read: ...a significant extent, enmeshed in the old philosophy—the philosophy of the cold war. Perhaps there is new packaging there, new ways of putting things, but there is also reliance on deterrence with stress laid on nuclear weapons, reliance on strength and so forth are in it... (rewording).

Gorbachev Pays Parting Visit to Weizsaecker

LD1506193489 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 15 TASS—Leaving the capital of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mikhail Gorbachev paid a parting visit to Richard von Weizsaecker, president of the Federal Republic.

They conversed briefly before the departure ceremony.

The FRG president and the CPSU CC [Central Committee] general secretary and president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR praised the contents and the results of the visit which indicated a new level and a new quality of the Soviet-West German relations. They took special note of the friendly and cordial atmosphere which characterised these days, and the desire of the two peoples to meet each other halfway, to cooperate, to build together a peaceful future for themselves and to contribute to better East-West relations as a whole.

Mikhail Gorbachev thanked the FRG president and Helmut Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher who were present at the meeting, and their colleagues for cooperation, mutual understanding and trust which contributed in an important way to the success of the visit. The goodwill manifested by the FRG people and their desire for closer relations with the Soviet people demonstrated that the two governments' course of close interaction producing concrete and useful results, of maintaining personal contacts at all, including the highest levels, represent a correct course consonant with the interests of both states, the interests of Europe and of universal security. The course contributes to creating a period of peace in world development.

The large work done during the visit by the foreign ministers of the two countries and by Comrades Aleksandr Yakovlev and Ivan Silayev was noted.

Mikhail Gorbachev invited President Richard von Weizsaecker and Chancellor Helmut Kohl to come on official visits to USSR.

Agreement was reached on exchanges of official visits by the foreign ministers Eduard Shevardnadze and Hans-Dietrich Genscher who will also maintain regular working contacts between them.

The conversation was attended by officials accompanying Mikhail Gorbachev on his visit.

Departs Bonn for Dortmund

LD1506124189 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 15 TASS—A ceremony to see off Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Raisa Gorbachev was held in the residence of the federal president today. The Soviet leader parts with Richard von Weizsaecmer and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. State anthems of the two countries are played. Gorbachev and Von Weizsaecker review the honour guard.

Eduard Shevardnadze, Politburo member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the CPSU, Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, attended the farewell ceremony. Those attending the ceremony from the West German side were Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and minister for foreign affairs, and other officials.

Gorbachev and the persons accompanying him are heading by train from Bonn to Dortmund. Johannes Rau, minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia, accompanies the Soviet guest in the trip.

Interviewed on Train to Dortmund

LD1606004189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Interview with Soviet leader Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev by "Vremya" correspondent Kondratyev aboard train between Bonn and Dortmund, FRG, 15 June; recorded—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Gorbachev] It's "Vremya," "Vremya." [laughs]

[Kondratyev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what has impressed you most during this visit?

[Gorbachev] We've just been talking about this. It's the people, their feelings. I've seen many faces, I've seen eyes and I've seen movements of the soul. And I think this is the most important thing. It means that a great deal done by all of us present here over the past few years to bring our countries and peoples closer has not been in vain. And I'd like to take the opportunity to cordially greet Comrade Brandt, an old comrade of ours in the workers' movement. Now, too, he has tremendous authority in the workers' movement. A lot at that time was begun by him, but it should be noted nonetheless that other political parties in the FRG have also done a great deal of late and made their contribution [words indistinct].

The biggest impression is that we have met people in such a mood, inclined toward friendship and cooperation. You know, I think there's even a sort of relief among our peoples. This is a tremendous [word indistinct]. That's the main thing. All the rest has been for that.

[Kondratyev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what are your feelings on leaving the FRG today?

[Gorbachev] A feeling of great hope that everything will now change for the better more rapidly, and with the feeling that we have done some good work in the interests both of our two countries and peoples, and of Europe and the world.

[Kondratyev] Many thanks.

Arrives in Dortmund

LD1606014189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Video report by correspondent Kondratyev, Rau, and Samtlebe speaking in German with interpretation into Russian—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Here's the train arriving in Dortmund. At the train station Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is met by Oberburgermeister Samtlebe, one of the longest-serving and most authoritative town council leaders in the country. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa leaving the train and being introduced to Samtlebe and a woman]

[Rau] This is Mr Samtlebe, the Oberburgermeister of Dortmund.

[Gorbachev] They've already told me about you. We are happy to have come here to your city, to this region, which has close links with our country. Many people are familiar with the products that come from here, so we are very interested.

[Samtlebe] Your excellency, we are proud and grateful. Here's our surprise [indicates man beside him]. This is the mayor of Rostov.

[Gorbachev] I can see...I can see you.

[Samtlebe] My colleague, Zorenkov

[Gorbachev] Are you sister cities then?

[Zorenkov] For 12 years, with excellent ties

[Gorbachev] Are you satisfied with the ties?

[Samtlebe] We have been sister cities for 13 years. The foundations were laid in 1973....

[Gorbachev] Have you been to Rostov?

[Zorenkov] Last year.

[Gorbachev] Did you go fishing?

[Samtlebe, indicating Zorenkov] No, but he's doing it for me.

[video shows the group walking away from the train; Yakovlev and Shevardnadze visible behind Gorbachev]

[Kondratyev] Here the Soviet visitors are arriving at the Hoesch factory—the steel giant and biggest employer in the city. Here, Mikhail Sergeyevich is meeting not only staff from this enterprise: production councils of steel firms and concerns throughout the region have sent representative to Hoesch, including Mannesmann and Thyssen.

The workers are delighted that Mikhail Sergeyevich has found time to visit them. They asked him to do so in a letter sent to the Soviet leader long before the dates of the visit were set. [video shows Gorbachev and entourage entering Hoesch factory; crowded hall]

There are thousands in the hall. Here, once again, due to a lack of space, they have had to restrict the numbers wishing to see Mikhail Sergeyevich with their own eyes rather than on a television screen, and to listen to what he will say in his direct address to the workers of the Ruhr. Incidentally, since we're on the subject of television, it was between Dortmund and Rostov-na-Donu that the first Soviet-West German television link was set up, while the first specialized television link-up was between workers at Hoesch and Rostselmash.

Addresses Workers in Dortmund

LD1506202189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in Dortmund at meeting with workers of the Hoescht firm on 15 June—recorded; introductory passage read by announcer]

[Text] This afternoon Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev arrived in Dortmund on a high-speed intercity train. The oberberghermeister of the city of Dortmund met Gorbachev at the Kirchenberner station. After they had greeted each other, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was handed a souvenir gift—a miner's lamp. Then Mikhail Sergeyevich, together with Johannes Rau, premier of North Rhine-Westphalia and prominent figure in the Social Democratic Party of Germany, arrived at the works of the Hoescht firm. Mikhail Sergeyevich inspected a unique sheet steel rolling mill. After the inspection, the Soviet leader met the works' collective. Some 5,000 people had gathered at the works in the open air. Mikhail Sergeyevich addressed the workers:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Dear friends, my colleagues and I are happy to attend this meeting, a meeting with representatives of the FRG working class. [applause] I convey to you from the workers of the Soviet Union and all working people sincere greetings, feelings of goodwill, ardent desires to cooperate, and to proceed together with you toward a better future for our peoples, to proceed together toward a better Europe, and, to proceed together toward a better world for all peoples. [applause]

Dear friends, we have come to you directly from our first Congress of People's Deputies and we have the authority to announce that Soviet people—and this was said loud and clear at the congress—are devoted to the policy of restructuring and to the new political thinking. However difficult this is, we will consistently progress along this path we have chosen. [applause]

We know with what interest the FRG working people are following our restructuring. We feel their solidarity and I, on behalf of our people, thank you for this solidarity. [applause] As far as those who are in this hall now are concerned, then it is not only words of support—this is important in itself—but it is also great deeds which our people feel, since they use your products, the fruits of your labor, in the interests of restructuring and the renewal of socialism in our country. [applause]

What do we want? What are we relinquishing and what are we fighting for on the roads to restructuring? In our country, which has huge and unique opportunities at its disposal, we want more socialism, more democracy, and more freedom so that the worker feels good in this country. [applause] We are not only not relinquishing socialism, we want to imbue it with a new quality and reveal its humane potential. [applause] But we are relinquishing everything which was permitted during previous decades which does not correspond to the ideal of socialism, that which fetters man and deprives him of initiative. We are casting away bureaucracy and the command system. Via democratization of the economy, political institutions, and the whole of public life, we wish to open up a wide road for the active participation of the workers in all of the state's affairs. [applause] We do not know everything about that society to which we aspire. But we know that this will be a society of broad-based democracy, a society based on values common to all mankind; this is a society in which the interests of the worker will be primary and this is a society of people's power. [applause]

We are not imposing our restructuring on anyone. We need restructuring. We know only that if we manage to cope with our tasks and problems and achieve the goals of restructuring, this will be advantageous not only for our people but also for all the people of the world. [applause] We know that we do not live and act in a vacuum. We live in a complicated world with its own concerns and anxieties, and we are striving to understand this world and to propose our own policies on the basis of knowledge. We do not claim to know the absolute truth.

Our policies are an invitation to all peoples and governments to search for ways to a better world, and we thank you, the representatives of the working people and through you all people in the FRG, which has responded to our new political thinking and has chosen the road of cooperation. We have felt this a great deal during these days. [applause] We are saying today that we are opening a new chapter in our relations and we want this new chapter to be filled with the bright pages of our cooperation and new manifestations of friendship, respect, and trust. [applause] The road to the present day was no easy one. It has turned out that in our great joint history, there are many good pages and traditions, and there were tragic times, too.

We want, together with you, to take all of the best things which brought our peoples together and to learn from the tragic pages in our history. I am happy, together with you, to greet those who were the sources of these new approaches and these new policies—I have in mind Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, and other representatives of the political parties land movements of your country. [applause] We greet those who are today continuing these political policies and who are prepared to cooperate constructively in the interests of our two countries and in the interests of all peoples. I can assure you of this, dear comrades. [applause]

If you were to ask me what is my strongest impression of this visit and the meetings with the people of FRG, I would say this: What we have met here on your land excited us a lot; we have seen many people and felt huge affection. I would say our hearts were moved and we felt a wish to meet one another half-way, to cooperate more, to trust one another more, to struggle together for a better world. [applause]

Dear friends during this visit I have conversed with Moscow and my comrades from the Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet spoke of the interest with which the Soviet people are following this visit. They are glad, as you are, that our relations are moving onto a new level of trust and cooperation and are getting, as it were, their second wind. I would very much like to hope that what has arisen lately in our relations will become stronger, will put down deep roots, and that our cooperation will bear new, splendid fruits for our peoples and for all other peoples. [applause] You metallurgists know how difficult it is to produce steel and what craftsmanship, work, and sweat it demands. To build better relations—to place them on the wide road of friendship and cooperation is a far more difficult thing to do. But the worker knows that everything is made by hard work and is held together by it. However high an opinion politicians and other representatives of any society have of themselves, in the final analysis the basis of each society is the working man. [applause]

Let us work together, each one in his own country, both cooperating and interacting, in order to build a better future for our peoples, for the whole world community. [applause]

Thank you for your attention. I wish peace and prosperity to the people of the FRG.

Gives Speech in Duesseldorf

LD1506223689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; speech by Mikhail Gorbachev 15 June at Benrath Castle, Duesseldorf—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified correspondent] Again the intercity train is travelling through North Rhine Westphalia [NRW] to Duesseldorf, its capital. [passage omitted]

From the railway station the vehicles set off to Benrath Castle, a masterpiece of 15th century architecture. The welcoming ceremony began with playing of the national anthems. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna signed the book of guests of honor. In the next hall the Soviet leader was introduced to the members of the NRW Government. Johannes Rau made a welcoming speech at the reception in honor of the Soviet guest. [passage omitted] [video shows motorcade arriving at castle; Gorbachev and Raisa signing the book of guests of honor; reception in crowded room; Shevardnadze present]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made a speech:

[Gorbachev] Prime Minister and Mrs Rau, esteemed members of the government of NRW, ladies and gentlemen, comrades and friends:

We—our delegation—are very touched by the hospitality shown and the warmth of the feelings we have encountered here among you, on your soil. We thank you for this.

We particularly appreciate encountering these feelings, the striving for friendship in this land, where millions of people are working with whom we have long-standing close ties of cooperation.

We found it very pleasant today to take part in a magnificent meeting with representatives of the working class and to feeling again the entire might of workers' solidarity with the concerns of restructuring, with what is being tackled today by the Soviet people.

I agree with Mr Rau that both important words and important decisions are necessary. Of course they are necessary. But it is very important that these words and decisions should always be followed by important, specific deeds.

Your land's working people and business circles are pioneers in the establishment and development of cooperation between our countries. And much of what has been done by skilled hands at your enterprises is today operating successfully and well for the benefit and use of Soviet people. We thank you for this.

I hope that you, too, can see the fruits of the work of our people and working class and first of all of those who recover gas, oil, and other raw materials which is needed so much by industry and people.

That is how one must live: Work together, extract common advantage and benefit, and about this, during the days of the visit, we have had many conversations and important talks.

What we are doing jointly today is good but I will tell you honestly: It is too little. The potentials of our countries are immense and we can double and even triple the scale of our economic cooperation.

But perhaps the most important thing we are taking with us as a result, a consequence of this brief but very important visit to your country, is our new impressions and new knowledge of the sentiments of the FRG people.

We hold in high regard the feelings of respect that have been displayed, as well as the desire to cooperate, and the wish to trust one another more, to tackle common problems together, and to meet each other halfway. This seems to me to be the most important and the principal precondition for a politician, for his activities since, if one is a real politician rather than someone who has just strayed into politics, one must know the mood of his people and its aspirations, and seek to realize them in his political activities.

We take away with us from this visit the conviction that today the FRG, the politicians of the FRG, understand these imperatives of the times just as we do, and sense the wish of the people. We felt this in the very intensive and broadest talks with your president, Mr von Weizsaecker, and Chancellor Kohl, with whom I have established good personal contacts. We felt this yesterday, when we were in Stuttgart, and we feel it no less now, when we are in your land at the invitation of your prime minister and government.

And my comrades in the delegation and I felt it in the numerous conversations with the leaders of all the parties. All that is very important. It allows us to hope for a better future in our relations. I want to congratulate you, citizens of the FRG and the Soviet people, on the fact that we are emerging onto the broad road of new relations—er—[corrects himself] new cooperation, on to a new level in our relations. Let's try to meet one another halfway and make headway as we go.

Thank you. [applause]

Makes Farewell Remarks at Airport

LD1506224289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Video shows Mikhail Gorbachev and wife standing near aircraft] [Announcer] At Duesseldorf airport Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is being seen off by officials and as always by journalists. And of course there is always the same request for an interview.

[Gorbachev] So, we are satisfied. In my opinion a really new stage is being opened up in our relations. I am very glad that at the end of my visit I have seen this land and I have had such stirring meetings. It has simply been wonderful. And I wish the FRG citizens and the inhabitants of this land fine achievements. Goodbye.

Departs FRG

LD1506165789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Duesseldorf, 15 June (TASS)—Having ended his official visit to the FRG Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, departed from Duesseldorf for the homeland.

He was accompanied by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Mikhail Gorbachev was seen off at the airport by Johannes Rau, premier of the North Rhine-Westphalia, and by other West German representatives.

Arrives in Moscow

LD1506204689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2003 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 16 Jun (TASS)—On 15 June, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, returned to Moscow from the FRG where he was on an official visit at the invitation of Richard von Weizsaecker, the president of the FRG. [passage omitted]

At the airport, M.S. Gorbachev was met by members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, and V.M. Chebrikov; candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, N.V. Talyzin, and D.T. Yazov; and O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Also among those meeting him was E. Hayken, the FRG charge d'affaires in the USSR [name and title as received]

Meetings Held With FRG Politicians in Bonn 14 Jun

Gorbachev Meets Communist Party Leader

LD1506115289 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 15 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev met Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party [DKP], here on Wednesday [14 June].

The sides were of the same opinion that the visit has become a major event in the development of relations between the two countries. The unusually warm welcome accorded by the broad sections of the West German population to Gorbachev reflects deep-going changes in the minds of citizens under the influence of the Soviet peace policy, democratisation and glasnost in the Soviet Union [words indistinct] chances and conditions for entering quicker a new stage in relations between the peoples of the two countries. Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union would do its utmost to translate into life the new quality of relations between the USSR and the FRG in all spheres: politics, economy, culture, science and human relations.

The meeting was attended by GCP [DKP] Deputy Chairman Ellen Weber, Aleksandr Yakovlev and Eduard Shevardnadze.

Yakovlev Meets Green Party Members

LD1506133689 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 15 TASS—A meeting was held here on Wednesday [14 June] between Aleksandr Yakovlev, a Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, and leaders of the West German Greens Party. The meeting involved Ralf Fuechs, co-chairman of the party board, Renate Damus and Juergen Reents, members of the board, Helmut Lippelt, co-chairman of the Greens party group in the Bundestag, and Otto Schily, Petra Kelly, and Christa Vennegerts, Bundestag deputies.

During the talk the sides discussed issues of lowering military confrontation in Europe, opportunities for interaction between the USSR and West Germany in this process, and also in the efforts to improve the environment and ecological safety of the continent. The West Germann participants in the talk were informed about progress in perestroyka and major events in the life in the Soviet Union. The talk also concerned interparty contacts.

Both sides noted positive significance of the perestroyka processes in the USSR to the renewal of Soviet society and, moreover, to further boosting and deepening European cooperation. Global democratisation, human rights protection, preserving nature and common environment are inseparably linked in our days, especially in Europe, with the tasks of reducing arms and armed forces and removing the threat of war and confrontation from inter-state relations.

FRG Figures Assess Gorbachev Visit

President Weizsaecker Comments

LD1506212389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Kondratyev interviews FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker in Bonn 15 June—recorded; Kondratyev, von Weizsaecker speak in German with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Kondratyev] Immediately after the farewell ceremony at the residence of the federal president, Richard von Weizsaecker gave an interview to Soviet television. [video shows Kondratyev and von Weizsaecker at the entrance to his residence] Mr. Federal President, you have just said goodbye to your Soviet guest. How do you evaluate this visit, the content and results of the conversations that have taken place in these past days in Bonn, and the agreements that have been reached?

[Weizsaecker] I want to dwell on the political and, I would say, the human aspects of this visit. The political aspect found precise and full reflection in the joint statement. The FRG is located at the very center of the European continent, and has special geopolitical tasks which must be fulfilled with all responsibility. This means that the FRG can only bring to fruition its own interests if the interests of its neighbors are taken into consideration, and East-West relations generally. We do not want to proceed along some kind of special German road, such a road as would have a negative influence on the dialogue between peoples. We are convinced that detente and the development of close, concrete European cooperation correspond to our key aspirations. Therefore, we, within the alliance of the Western states, have done much work to improve the climate of East-West relations. Gorbachev assessed on merit our contribution, and it is recognized both in the East and in the West. I think this is substantial progress over the entire postwar period.

If one is to speak of the human atmosphere of the visit, then the reception for General Secretary Gorbachev was exceptionally cordial wherever he went. This was not curiosity but a feeling of liking, a sincere wish of success for the reforms he is conducting. The display of these sentiments is, I think, most significant, especially if one remembers how much fear and how much suffering there has been in relations between our two peoples. I think that Gorbachev felt that deeply himself. What we had here was not hypocritical euphoria, but gratitude for what he is doing. After all, given a responsible attitude, it is possible to eradicate the cause of our fear of each other, not to forget past sufferings but to transform our relations into relations of mutual understanding, mutual liking, and into relations of friendship.

[Kondratyev] Mr. Federal President, if it is not, of course, a secret, what did you and the Soviet president say and wish each other in saying goodbye.

[Weizsaecker] He invited me to the Soviet Union and said, when so doing, that it is not only to hold political conversations in Moscow but so that I can get to know better your large country and its people. I have accepted that invitation with gratitude, and even now I am very glad about another good meeting with him.

Vogel Discusses Results

LD1606082689 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 16 TASS—A common base for conducting a joint "Eastern policy" by all parties represented in the parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany is being created as a result of the official visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to West Germany, Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, said in a West German ARD Television programme interview.

The foundations of this policy were laid down by the Moscow Treaty and were developed in the Helsinki CSCE process with a direct participation of Social Democrats, he said.

Vogel criticised the conservative Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union bloc for its failure to use the visit by the Soviet leader to elaborate its own initiatives in the disarmament field. In contrast to the CDU/CSU, Social Democrats advocate a reduction in tactical nuclear weapons to the point of their complete elimination, Vogel stressed.

FRG Politicians Cited

LD1506145789 Moscow TASS in English 1426 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 15 TASS—Politicians in the Federal Republic continue to widely comment [on] Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the FRG, stressing the positive impact of the Soviet-West German summit both on bilateral relations and international situation as a whole.

FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker described the atmosphere of the talks with the Soviet leader in Bonn and his warm reception by the ordinary West Germans as exceptionally cordial. The visit, he said in an interview with the first West German television channel, was marked by "human and political progress" in the relations between the two countries. What we clearly have is an increased feeling of good will and confidence, the president stressed.

Economics Minister of the FRG Helmut Haussmann pointed to the importance of the talks held during the visit for the bilateral trade and economic relations. In an interview with the "Deutschlandfunk" radio station the

economics minister said that the Soviet Union was an ideal economic partner for the Federal Republic. The USSR, the minister said, has huge need for capital goods, while the West German market is brimming with them. In his opinion it is average-size enterprises and firms that have the most favourable opportunities for getting into the Soviet market, which will be assisted by the agreements concluded during Gorbachev's visit. These agreements, the minister said, have ushered in a new long era in the bilateral economic relations.

Otto Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party, expressed his profound satisfaction with the results of Gorbachev's visit. Lambsdorff said the visit was a significant success of the ruling coalition parties. The Free Democratic Party, which already during the 1960s took an active part in working out the basic principles of the policy toward the East and persistently implemented it over these years, has also contributed to the success.

One chief characteristic of the visit, Ralf Fuechs, member of the leadership of the "Greens" party, said, was "not the official functions but that wave of sympathy and enthusiasm with which West German public welcomed Gorbachev." It reflects the desire of the people to put an end to the arms race and to the division of Europe and expresses hopes for a better future which is associated with the name of the Soviet leader.

'New Quality' Achieved

LD1506143189 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 15 Jun 89

["Gorbachev's Visit Reflects Mutual Striving for Cooperation"—TASS headline]

[Text] Bonn June 15 TASS—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl shares Mikhail Gorbachev's view that a new quality has been achieved in relations between the two countries as a result of the Soviet-West German summit meeting, Hans Klein, official spokesman for the FRG's Government, told journalists here at a news conference on the results of the Soviet leader's visit to the Federal Republic.

The chancellor's opinion is, Klein pointed out, that the visit created a new level of trust and laid a basis for good personal contacts.

The joint statement and other documents signed in Bonn, the federal government spokesman said, reflected the Federal Republic's and the Soviet Union's common striving for the development of cooperation in the interests of the two countries. The task now is to implement the accords reached.

One of substantial results of the visit, Klein pointed out, is that the leaders of the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic have been able in a friendly atmosphere to discuss matters which still remain open.

In so doing, the Soviet side, contrary to misgivings which were expressed previously, made no attempts to bring about a split in our relations with the United States and NATO, the spokesman emphasised.

Klein told journalists that already today Chancellor Kohl will inform U.S. President George Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher by telephone of the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit.

French President Francois Mitterrand will be informed of the results of the Soviet leader's visit upon his return from Poland.

Results of Gorbachev's 4 Days in FRG Summarized

PM1506114789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 89 Second Edition pp 1, 4

[Dispatch by special correspondents Ye. Grigoryev, A. Maslennikov, and I. Melnikov: "Summit Meeting and 'Diplomacy from Below'"]

[Excerpt] Bonn-Stuttgart-Dortmund—We would not like to give way to emotion, as a top-level state visit is a particularly serious matter. What can you do, however, when you cannot get out of your head the image of a splendid 4-year-old boy named Heinrich Sebastian Schilling who waved his bunch of flowers in the Marktplatz in front of Bonn City Hall until he found himself in M.S. Gorbachev's arms? Of course, the boy's bouquet had been prepared by his mother, who let her son dive under the barrier and end up at the center of events. But the totally unexpected episode, not envisaged in the program, seemed symbolic. For no one can express sincerity of feelings or turn thoughts to the future better than children. Does the historic, political, and human meaning of this summit meeting on the Rhine not consist in concern for a future for our peoples in which their good-neighborliness would grow into the full trust of partnership and friendship?

The joint statement—its chief political document—is inspired precisely by this way of thinking, precisely by this way of acting. Today it has been published in all the major West German newspapers and is being commented on widely in the international press. "Appeal for cooperation in Europe. The joint statement is the apogee of Gorbachev's visit," FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU informs us. The newspaper DIE WELT unites its front-page materials on the visit (in all, they occupy several pages) beneath the banner headline: "Kohl and Gorbachev Intend to Develop Partnership Relations. Historic Statement Signed. Bonn Inhabitants Welcome Kremlin Leader as They Once Did Kennedy and De Gaulle."

Usually conservative in its approaches to Soviet-West German relations, this newspaper points out editorially that "people in the FRG unanimously hail the joint statement, like almost no other foreign policy document in the past." Although there are no grounds for euphoria,

it points out, "this does not lessen the satisfaction with the successful progress of the visit, because cooperation is better than confrontation." The U.S. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE describes the joint statement as "important evidence of the two major European states' determination to work in the direction of ending East-West confrontation."

When the two leaders signed the political document and got up from the table, we heard Chancellor H. Kohl say: "We have done a good thing." In the opinion of Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher, the joint statement is distinguished by realism and promise. "There has not been a similar East-West document in the postwar period," GENERAL-ANZEIGER's commentator believes. "The expression about a new chapter so frequently employed really is apt here.... Positions based the political imperative of geography and of the lessons of historical experience and on the results of these days of Gorbachev's visit to Bonn appear a reasonable necessity both for the FRG and for European development, if confrontation is to give way to cooperation under the sign of changes."

The assessments which we read and hear confirm the thought that objective development has brought our peoples to a new qualitative level of relations. This is evidenced not only by the political document but also by the no less impressive public atmosphere in which the visit is taking place.

M.S. Gorbachev is still receiving more new invitations to visit lands, cities, enterprises, party and public organizations, and educational institutions. There are very many letters from FRG citizens inviting the guest to call on their family. "We believe that the ancient German city—the birthplace of Karl Marx—merits a visit," the students of Trier, for example, write (on behalf, also, of the city authorities and the university rectorate) in a letter which states that they "follow with interest the renewal of Soviet domestic and foreign policy."

Naturally, the framework of the state visit, which is limited in time, precludes accepting even some of these cordial invitations.

Today the Soviet guest spent the day in Stuttgart, capital of the land of Baden-Wuerttemberg. On the final day of the visit M.S. Gorbachev is awaited in one of the major industrial centers of the Ruhr—Dortmund. [passage omitted]

Correspondents Outline Gorbachev FRG Visit

LD1506230189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Our special correspondent Viktor Levin and Aleksandr Pozharskiy report from Bonn:

[Levin] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official visit to the FRG has ended: 4 days packed with talks, conversation, and meetings both with officials and with ordinary citizens of the FRG. The visit has come to a successful conclusion. In the newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, a journalist discussed who has gained more: FRG Chancellor Kohl, who badly needs his party, the Christian Democratic Union, to win the election to the European Parliament on Sunday, or Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who is running into problems at home. I wouldn't bother mentioning this was it not for the fact that they are rather typical. My opinion is that both statesmen proved fully equal to the responsibility facing them.

At the same time, the results of the visit, which are organically woven into the foreign policy course of the Soviet Union, the course ratified by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, bring with them, as we have heard here many times, many obligations from the Kohl government. The feelings shown by the populations of Bonn, Bad Godesberg, Dortmund, and Duesseldorf leave no doubt that the citizens of the FRG are pinning great and, I would say, fundamental hopes on the radical improvement of relations with the USSR.

[Pozharskiy] In the course of the visit, a joint declaration was signed which both sides describe as a unique document. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev feels that the joint declaration shows we have a new concept, a new quality of relations. This is a new word in relations between two major countries with such a fraught history. This thought, that we must remember the lessons of history, develop what is good, and draw the appropriate conclusions from tragic events, has been expressed repeatedly. The USSR and the FRG are very weighty factors in European and world politics. Both countries approach the evaluation of their opportunities without arrogance but also without false modesty. Their political, economic and—let us not be disingenous—military weight demand realistic assessment. We heard from the lips of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev the phrase that we adhere to the principle of tough realism.

In addition to the joint declaration, 11 other documents have been signed, forming a whole package of agreements which lay the treaty basis for developing economic, cultural, and humanitarian relations. The task now is to implement the accords that have been reached.

[Levin] Special mention must be made of the improvement of human relations. A very deep impression was made on citizens of the FRG by the events in the Marktplatz in Bonn when Raisa Maksimovna, on seeing a little boy welcoming the guests with a bouquet of flowers, invited him on to the ceremonial porch of the Rathaus. Mikhail Sergeyevich lifted the not at all shy Heinrich Schilling into his arms. Great interest was aroused, too, by Raisa Maksimovna's visit to the family of the worker Goetz in Stuttgart. But especially memorable have been what the local press called Mikhail Sergeyevich's swimming in the crowd. He repeatedly

abandoned protocol to answer greetings from the citizens, shake hands with them, or sign the restructuring book, as the German edition of Mikhail Sergeyevich's work is called.

[Pozharskiy] Today everyone's saying that the Soviet leader was accorded an unprecedented welcome. We asked our West German journalist colleagues and the citizens the reason for this. The answer was unanimous: The citizens of the FRG are delighted by the policy of restructuring, glasnost, and openness which the Soviet Union is pursuing, and by its real and specific deeds in the name of strengthening peace and creating a common European home with room for all—both the large and the small countries—in which no one will lose anything, and all will gain something. People want changes for the better. They've had enough of the cold war, and the new political thinking is opening a real way to this.

[Levin] Let us now try to answer the question, what does the visit, its results, give our country, our people? We've been somehow diffident about speaking of this aloud, evidently on the principle that everything our leaders do is always right. Well, now we know that it hasn't always been so. So this current visit is a substantial contribution to consolidating peace. That's the first point. The second is that our economic relations are developing—humanitarian relations, human and cultural relations. It's no secret that we have much to learn, though we can also teach a good lesson ourselves. Well, as for what we can learn, I'd very much like for example to see as many goods in our shops as in the FRG, and I'm convinced that's realistic. In short, the advantage, the mutual benefit, I don't want to call it advantage, is plain to see. The visit's been a great success.

Gorbachev Anthology Published in West Germany

PM1506125989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Book on New Thinking"]

[Text] Bonn, 9 Jun—The ceremonial presentation of "Glasnost. New Thinking," an anthology of speeches and articles by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has taken place here in the presence of a large number of German and foreign correspondents. The book, published in German by the Ullstein publishing house, was prepared for publication with the help of APN.

In the foreword to the anthology, M.S. Gorbachev writes: "You have before you, esteemed reader, a number of my utterances from the past 3 years. They were produced in response to different occasions. But you will find the central idea easy to understand—namely, that we cannot live in the old way. If civilization is destined to continue, it is impossible to form relations between states in the old way. And there is another point—we can only move toward the future together, preserving at the same time our identity and complete freedom of choice.

"Four years ago, in our own home, we firmly and irrevocably decided to restructure our economic and social relations and political system in accordance with the principles of democratization, glasnost, and the law, equal for and binding on all. The point of this policy may be defined in just a few words—the exaltation of man. Through justice, a high living standard, respect of the individual and of each people in our multinational state and through consistent people's power.

"Can socialism achieve that? You will find my answer in the book. Yes, restructuring has proved extraordinarily complex and difficult. It is a revolution within a revolution. But we have no other path to reveal our country's spiritual and material potential for the common good. Nor do our people want any other. Evidence of that is provided by the recent elections to the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

"In foreign policy the USSR has put forward an initiative on demilitarizing and deideologizing interstate relations on the basis of the recognition of the priority of general human interests. It is not coercion which is to fashion history henceforth but normal common sense. It is not the refinement of weapons which ensures security but the recognition of what would now seem an evident fact that mankind has finished fighting among itself, and the states and the peoples must zealously learn how to live as neighbors without bearing grudges.

"We propose scrapping all weapons of mass destruction and radically reducing the stocks and production of conventional weapons—to a level sufficient for defense. And we propose placing all weapons under strict international control. The vast resources now being spent on the arms race should be used for the protection of the environment, the prevention and treatment of disease, education and culture, and promoting development, particularly in the Third World.

"No one will offer us any ready-made solutions. We must elaborate them together. As parts of the whole, each one is obliged to care about ways to impart greater stability and productiveness to the generally positive trend which has already appeared in international and European development. This concern should apply first and foremost to large states such as the Soviet Union and the FRG.

"I am taking advantage of this opportunity to wish the readers of this book and all citizens of the FRG every happiness."

In an address to the presentation ceremony, A.S. Grachev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, noted that the book reflects life itself and its pages are being written before our very

eyes. An important chapter of that book will be written in the FRG during M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit. This is because relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG are an important part of the Soviet leadership's course toward the new thinking, the removal of the contradictions between East and West, and the improvement of the international atmosphere.

Christian Seger, one of the publishing house's directors, stressed that the anthology has been published on the eve of the Soviet leader's visit to the FRG, which is anticipated in the country with great interest. Glasnost and the new thinking are surely revealing themselves nowhere with such convincing clarity as in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches and articles, the publisher noted in particular. I hope that the anthology of speeches and articles will be received in the FRG with the same tremendous attention as is everything that is going on in the Soviet Union at present.

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Relations With FRG

AU1206164789 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 12 Jun 89 pp 3-4

["Exclusive" interview with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by HANDELSBLATT correspondent Hans-Joachim Deckert and chief editor Rainer Nahrendorf in the Kremlin: "We Can Contribute to the Construction of the Common European Home"; date not given]

[Text] [Deckert] Nikolay Ivanovich, political relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG have improved considerably lately. In the area of the exchange of goods, economic relations have not yet reached the old standard. What are the reasons for this?

[Ryzhkov] I admit that so far the improvement of political relations between the USSR and the FRG has not been accompanied by similar progress in our economic cooperation, although the FRG still ranks first in our trade with the West. This is largely due to the fact that the new foreign trade mechanism, which was created in the economic reform process, still does not work properly.

It is our objective to open the Soviet economy and to eventually achieve international standards in quality, competitiveness, and trade culture [handelskultur]. We have to restructure our country's specialization in foreign trade and adapt it to modern international demands based on intensive scientific work. All this will open up new perspectives for foreign trade cooperation with other countries—for example, with the FRG.

Therefore, we are able to optimistically assess the prospects for economic relations with the FRG. Your country is a long-standing and important trading partner of the Soviet Union outside the socialist system. I am able to state with deep satisfaction that the new constructive approaches in our economic cooperation are supported by the two countries' governments.

In addition to traditional trade, contacts in the fields of production and sales are already developing. The circle of Soviet enterprises that are business partners with FRG enterprises is expanding. The forms of cooperation are becoming increasingly diversified. This includes industrial cooperation, joint ventures, scientific-technological contacts, and our joint appearance in third country markets. Cooperation in the training of experts is also developing. In this context, small- and medium-sized FRG enterprises are playing a commendable role. I also want to state that our cooperation with the FRG at European economic forums is good.

Of course, the expansion of our economic relations requires better organizational and legal support, liberal conditions for cooperation, and the timely adaptation to the new situation that will arise in the activities of the EC after 1992. This is required for us not to lose Soviet-FRG economic cooperation, which is profitable for both sides, but, on the contrary, for us to increase it. In the meantime, there have also been questions in the field of joint ventures concerning guarantees, taxation, and financing. The working conditions for businessmen in our countries have to be improved by both sides, as stipulated in the final document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting.

The USSR and the FRG are important states on the European Continent. Our responsibility for the further development of the pan-European process is considerable. We can make a solid contribution to the construction of our common European home. The nature and extent of our cooperation are determined by East-West relations and by the relations between CEMA and the EC. Conscious of its responsibility, the Soviet Union is prepared to perfect bilateral economic contacts and is open to any constructive proposal by its FRG partner.

[Deckert] At present, the political discussion is dominated by further steps in disarmament. There are differences of opinion within NATO over future short-range missile arsenals. What guarantees for their security can be given to those NATO members who, like the FRG, want to postpone the modernization of their systems in view of the current negotiations with the Warsaw Pact?

[Ryzhkov] First of all, I want to recall that the Soviet Union is not modernizing its tactical nuclear missiles, even not by replacing them. Without waiting for the start of negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, we issued our first "contribution" to security guarantees for European countries: This year the USSR will unilaterally withdraw 500 tactical nuclear warheads from the territory of its allies and is prepared to discuss rules for the destruction of these weapons with its partners.

In addition, we will reduce the delivery means for tactical nuclear weapons, including 24 launching platforms for tactical missiles. Our intentions in Europe are also demonstrated by the unilateral reduction of tanks and other conventional arms, as well as by the restructuring of the armed forces to make them exclusively defensive. I think these are all serious steps toward security guarantees for the West European countries.

Regarding the negotiations on tactical nuclear missiles that we proposed, we consider it appropriate to agree on the radical reduction of all categories, including short-range missiles. An asymmetric method of reduction could be used here—for example, in the first stage of negotiations—by agreeing on the reduction of all categories of tactical nuclear weapons to equal ceilings on both sides, which, however, are lower than the present ones. We propose negotiations as early as possible, without making them dependent on the solution of other disarmament problems. If the NATO states are not prepared to immediately begin such negotiations, we propose starting deliberations in which the preparations for such negotiations could be discussed. We are prepared to hold bilateral, as well as multilateral, deliberations in this field.

I am sure that these proceedings will be in line with the security interests of all European states.

[Deckert] In speeches by responsible politicians and in the Soviet media, the drastic shortage of supplies is pointed out. What measures do you, as head of the government, feel are must crucial?

[Ryzhkov] The problem of the shortage of goods has really become serious. We are taking the most determined measures to ease the tensions in the consumer market and intend to improve the situation considerably in the next 2 years. I said this before the Congress of People's Deputies. It is planned to increase consumer goods production by almost 10 percent this year. However, an especially significant turn of exceptional dimensions is to take place beginning in 1990: The production of these goods is to be increased by 20 percent compared to this year's targets.

The defense, machine building, metallurgy, and other economic sectors will be largely devoted to consumer goods production. For example, approximately 300 enterprises and sections of enterprises will be switched over to consumer goods production. Defense industry ministries will provide the market with considerably more radios and television sets. For example, there will be an additional 13 percent more color television sets, more than 20 percent more radios, four times more videorecorders, etc.

Production in the consumer goods and food industries will increase considerably. We attach great importance to equipping them with modern technology and establishing modern shoe and clothing factories, as well as other enterprises. Extensive amounts of equipment will be bought for them abroad—from the FRG, for example. In light of the DM3 billion credit granted to the Soviet Union by a bank consortium headed by the Deutsche Bank, we have already signed contracts with FRG firms valued at a total of DM2.1 billion. This work will be continued. In 1989-90 alone, more than 450 consumer goods enterprises will be reoutfitted with foreign equipment.

Foreign firms will also be enlisted in the construction of many enterprises in this sector. Among other things, factories which will make 25-40 million pairs of quality shoes are to be established and the required raw material basis created.

The union republics will have to tackle great tasks to satisfy the market. After all, almost half of all consumer goods in the country are produced by enterprises that are directly subject to the councils of ministers of the republics. As the Congress of People's Deputies has shown, there is full agreement to, above all, work intensively to provide them with more rights and opportunities in this economic sector. We think that there are considerable reserves in this field. The Union Government for its part will continue to perfect the economic mechanism so that all enterprises will be interested in producing goods that are essential for the people.

We think that these measures will create the necessary productive, financial, and organizational prerequisites for the Soviet citizens to see positive changes in consumer goods supply more quickly.

[Deckert] Of all Western states, the FRG has established most of the joint ventures with Soviet firms and organizations. In your opinion, in which fields can these relations be expanded?

Ryzhkov: FRG firms really are the most active participants in joint ventures in the USSR. Now, with statutory [STATUTENGEBUNDEN] funds of their own valued at a total of R200 million, they are participating in 70 enterprises in very different economic sectors, and the number of such enterprises continues to increase. The capital paid in by the FRG partners constitutes two-fifths of this sum. Several joint ventures are already supplying products that are popular with enterprises and individual consumers.

Most of the joint ventures were established in the social [as published] sector (agricultural business transactions, consumer goods and food industry, services, culture, medicine, personnel training). There are also several joint ventures in the fields of chemistry, machine building, research, and development. Enterprises have been established with FRG capital in all 15 republics of the Soviet Union.

I emphasize that today foreign investments are possible for practically all Soviet industries and regions. Here we do not provide any restrictions. The interested partners decide everything, and the state can only indirectly

influence them, for example, through tax regulations, the granting of credits, etc. We want mutually advantageous cooperation and full trust between Soviet and foreign partners. The entrepreneurs of our country should know that we are interested in further developing joint ventures. In addition to the advantages of production, this form of cooperation provides the unique opportunity for exchanges of opinions and contacts between managers and other economic experts of the two countries.

At present, the new 5-year plan for the development of the USSR economy from 1991-95 is being drafted. It will be published. Our partners will be able to acquaint themselves with it and determine for themselves the best direction cooperation with Soviet enterprises and organizations should take.

[Deckert] How important are the free trade zones planned in the Leningrad region?

[Ryzhkov] The new conditions of economic activities, including foreign trade, that are now being developed in the USSR suggest the idea of such an experiment to us. Interest in free trade zones has been shown in several regions of the country. At present, this question is being thoroughly studied in our country.

Among other projects, the possible establishment of a free trade zone in Leningrad-Vyborg which is to be primarily oriented toward research and production and which implies Soviet, as well as foreign investments and new developments, is currently being discussed. There are also prospects for foreign tourism. The zone must be open to entrepreneurs from all countries. Consultations with Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian, and FRG business circles have already taken place. Their results will be taken into account in the final version of the project. We hope that all of the preparatory work will be concluded before the end of the year.

[Deckert] To what degree do nationality conflicts impair political and economic development?

[Ryzhkov] Any violation of the normal rhythm of life, including in relations among nationalities, affects the political climate, as well as the work of man. After all, thousands of production activities within the entire economic complex, which connect the different regions of the country, are affected. This results in a kind of chain reaction that leads to economic difficulties in other regions and branches of the country.

However, the most important thing for us is not so much the economic consequences of the nationality conflicts as the overcoming of moral, social, and political excesses and of the tormented state of relations between people of different nationalities. We attach utmost importance to the improvement of these relations and are trying to make them sound and truly fraternal.

[Deckert] You were able to acquaint yourself with the preparations for the single European market during your visit to Luxembourg in April. Will this union seriously disrupt Mikhail Gorbachev's plan to build a common European home?

[Ryzhkov] In developing the idea of a common European home, we were guided by the principle that, instead of confrontational relations, which characterized the time of the cold war, universal cooperation in all fields of international relations has to start in Europe. One of the most important elements of this has to be economic integration—that is, not just within existing economic groups, but also among them.

We are far from wanting to advise other peoples on how to best settle their economic and other problems, and we greatly respect the decision on establishing the single EC market. The experiences concerning how many specific tasks of integration have been fulfilled in Western Europe could probably also be usefully applied in other regions. They should be taken into account in establishing links for economic cooperation in the overall European framework.

We attach great importance to the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EC, and at present we are intensively working on formulating a contractual basis for economic cooperation between the USSR and the EC. We think that the integration processes in West Europe not only do not hinder the construction of a common European home, but make a useful contribution to it. However, this will certainly depend on the EC member states in certain ways.

[Deckert] In the past General Secretary Gorbachev himself referred to the scarcity of foreign currency in the Soviet Union. Why does Moscow not take advantage of offers for loans from the West to a greater extent?

[Ryzhkov] At present it is indeed not easy for the Soviet Union to maintain the necessary level of foreign currency revenues. For us, developments on the international market leave a lot to be desired; international competition has also escalated. From time to time our state seeks help by raising loans on the international loan market. We try to make sure that such loans are granted mainly for the import of machinery and equipment as well as for important economic projects with the participation of foreign companies. Last fall, for instance, we agreed on raising loans for the purchase of equipment and technology for agriculture, light industry, and the foodstuffs industry.

At the same time we consider foreign loans with responsibility and caution. Their total sum must not exceed the limits of what the country can afford in view of the current state of its trade balance and its balance of payments. Their structure must not shift toward short-term debts that are too high. It is one of our traditions to pay back loans completely and by the agreed date.

Furthermore, it is important for the total amount of loans to correspond to the possibilities of using them in our national economy in time and productively.

Recently we have used various channels to get loans. Thus, the Soviet Union does not only raise international and bank loans, but also places bonds on the securities market.

The Soviet Union uses loans mainly for investments to modernize our economic potential. Therefore, despite the demand that is sometimes raised to use Western loans primarily for the purchase of mass consumption goods, we raise loans mainly for the development of the domestic production basis for such goods, although part of them we naturally also use for the purchase of mass consumption goods. I would like to say the following in this connection: The facilities constructed with loans are normally oriented partly toward exports in order to make it easier to pay back our debts. Our country takes care of its reputation on the foreign financial markets, and I suppose that our business partners understand this.

FRG Defense Minister on USSR Military Exchanges

PM1306084189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg by Ye. Savishchev: "The View From the Bundeswehr: For the First Time FRG Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg Answers a Soviet Newspaper Correspondent's Questions"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Bonn—[Savishchev] Mr Minister, the latest Soviet proposals in the disarmament sphere and in particular our country's readiness to unilaterally withdraw part of its tactical nuclear systems from its allies' territory may eventually bring West and East nearer to a world with fewer weapons. Do you yourself believe in such a possibility?

[Stoltenberg] In the Soviet Union, as in many other East European states, changes have been seen which we in the West welcome. We are ready for the broadest cooperation with you. First of all it must serve people and give them an opportunity for contact with one another and for freer movement. In the conditions that have been created there are now real prospects for holding arms control talks and the conclusion of disarmament treaties between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This is particularly true of the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments, where a rapprochement of the sides' positions is becoming increasingly evident. We want to achieve results there as soon as possible. However, the talks on the reduction of nuclear weapons and the elimination of chemical weapons should also be involved in this process.

[Savishchev] Mr Minister, your forthcoming visit is expected to provide a continuation of constructive dialogue and a consolidation of trust and mutual understanding between our countries. Do military men share this viewpoint? Is it possible, in your view, to expand contacts between the Bundeswehr and the Soviet Army? The fact that such contacts are possible at all is demonstrated by events in recent days—I have in mind here the visit to the FRG by a group of Soviet military servicemen. What is your view of that?

[Stoltenberg] Admiral Wellershoff, general inspector of the Bundeswehr, recently visited Moscow and Leningrad, where a fruitful exchange of opinions took place. During that visit a program of exchanges between representatives of the two countries' military departments was discussed in general terms. Of course, the participants in these meetings must also include soldiers. A delegation of young officers and servicemen from the Soviet Army recently visited the FRG for the first time. This visit was the result of a private initiative (by the West German newspaper DIE WELT and APN—Ye.S. note). There were very interesting meetings with Bundeswehr soldiers. The younger generation in our two countries, united by a desire for good-neighborliness and the preservation of peace, want such contacts to expand.

[Savishchev] What do you, as leader of the FRG military department, expect from the Soviet leader's impending return visit to West Germany?

[Stoltenberg] FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Moscow last year has already given a positive impetus to bilateral relations. More than 6 months' intensive work went into the preparation of the important documents which are now to be finally agreed upon and signed during President M.S. Gorbachev's visit. We expect the forthcoming talks to produce an exchange of opinions with regard to further steps toward a peaceful system in Europe.

[Savishchev] How do you see the future of the Bundeswehr?

[Stoltenberg] We have always regarded the Bundeswehr as an army designed to safeguard peace. Now that East-West relations have improved noticeably and we are on the threshold of achieving concrete accords in the sphere of arms limitation and disarmament, there may be a need to review the structure of the Bundeswehr and the tasks which it will perform in the future. Even in the event of a radical improvement of the political situation in Europe our states will continue to retain their armed forces. In my view, however, there is a good opportunity in the near future to achieve the kind of condition in which the structures of the armed forces of all states without exception will be categorically and unreservedly defensive in character. Only such a policy will provide the basis on which we will be able to ensure peace, mutual understanding, and cooperation.

Baklanov's Activities in Paris Reported

Attends Air Show, Awards Ceremony

LD1506183789 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 15 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Boris Grishchenko:

Possibilities for broadening dynamic Soviet-French cooperation in priority areas were examined during a visit here by Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Oleg Baklanov.

He stayed in this country on June 11 through 15 in connection with the 38th international aerospace show at Le Bourget outside Paris.

The unique combination of the world's largest transport [word indistinct] and the space shuttle Buran travelling piggyback on the aircraft, which was demonstrated there, won expert acclaim. Visitors' attention was attracted also by IL-96-300 and Tu-204 airliners.

On top of this, Soviet warplanes were put on display at the show for the first time.

Baklanov attended the demonstration flights of several planes represented at the show and talked to aircraft designers.

As he visited the pavilion of the Soviet foreign trade association Aviaexport, he was briefed on the intentions of foreign plane-building firms to take a closer look at the possibility of buying Soviet assemblies, devices and composite materials.

During his visits to the firms Alcatel, Thomson and Saft he discussed possibilities of joint work, in particular a plant to create a global communications system involving Soviet and French equipment. It was pointed out that this combination is in the interest of not only the two countries but also all Humanity.

Baklanov also visited Aerospatiale and Matra factories in Toulouse and the national centre for space studies.

New political thinking makes it possible to reach a new level of economic relations between countries in expediting world scientific and technological progress. The package of related issues is being studied anew in the business quarters of the USSR and France ahead of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to this country.

The world is looking forward to serious shifts in this vital sphere and it is needed now to take as many specific steps as possible.

One idea stressed especially forcefully during Soviet-French meetings was that space cooperation is among the more important aspects of efforts to improve the ecological situation on the planet.

In addition, Baklanov met with the leadership of the French Communist Party, visited Vladimir Lenin's memorial flat in the Marie-Rose Street in Paris and went to the Pere-Lachaise cememtery to honour the memory of the heroes of the French commune.

The presentation by French President Francois Mitterrand of awards to a group of Soviet cosmonauts involved in the latest Soviet-French space mission was timed for the Le Bourget show. Baklanov attended the awards ceremony.

Visits Communications Company

LD1406130489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2203 GMT on 13 June in its news bulletin carries a 3-minute video report by correspondent Slipchenko on the International Air and Space Show in Le Bourget, France, attended by Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov.

Slipchenko begins the report with video showing telephone cables with huge capacities, and an instrument made for the USSR which multiplexes the signals, and has a capacity of 3 million megawatts. Slipchenko says that a video phone link has been set up here.

Slipchenko continues, stating: "Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov and the Soviet delegation visited the Alcatel firm. It has works in 22 countries, and trade links with [indistinct] countries. This firm produces all the existing types of communications equipment, and is developing some quite new ones: teletype, telefax, xerox (?by) phone, cables and satellite communications, retransmitters, and ordinary domestic telephones. All this is within the firm's sphere of interest, and our country desperately needs all this. This is why the Soviet delegation today is offering not a general cooperation plan, but a specific Soviet-French program. If our foreign companions previously used to complain about the slowness of the Soviets, they are now being offered such speed that they are surprised and are themselves asking for time to consider.

"The Soviet side is proposing that a joint Soviet-French program should be discussed in time for the upcoming visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to France, all the more so since we have something to exchange: Our carrier rockets and sputniks that have not yet been seen in the world, and the technical capabilities and experience of the French and European firms and corporations. We are proposing to create a global, planet-wide communications system with whose aid we shall be able to solve both our own internal problems of installing telephones throughout the whole country, and to make a

contribution to the creation of a common European and later a world home. [video shows communications equipment, delegation examining it and having it explained]

"Technology can let us down: We and our partners know this. But what happened to the Soviet aircraft at Le Bourget is getting interesting comments from local observers: The accident showed the reliability of the Soviet rescue system.

"Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov met Anatoliy Nikolayegich Kvochur, the pilot of the plane. The pilot feels great."

Slipchenko then interviews Kvochur briefly and largely inaudibly about his plans. [video shows Baklanov and others sitting with Kvochur in a plush reception room, where Slipchenko then conducts his interview, Kvochur looks absolutely fine].

Departs Paris

LD1506184189 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Paris June 15 TASS—Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Oleg Baklanov left Paris for Moscow today. He had stayed in France from June 11 to 15 to attend the 38th international aerospace show in Le Bourget.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further Reports on Vorotnikov's Visit to Brazil

Attends Congress Plenary Session

LD1306152689 Moscow TASS in English 1437 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] Brasilia June 13 TASS—The delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, a Politburo member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Supreme Soviet Presidium president of the Russian Federation, now paying an official friendly visit here, on Monday [12 June] visited Brazil's National Congress where is met Nelson Carneiro, president of the National Congress and the Federal Senate, and Paes de Andrade, president of the Chamber of Deputies.

Vorotnikov handed over to the National Congress a message by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR to the peoples of the world.

On the same day the Soviet delegation was invited to the plenary session of the Senate. Brazilian senators, who took the floor at the session, spoke out in favour of developing Soviet-Brazilian relations in all directions, emphasising the importance of parliamentary ties.

Members of the National Congress commended the fact that Brazil is a country which was visited by the first official delegation of the new Supreme Soviet of the USSR. They regard it as an indicator of an immense importance which is attached in the Soviet Union to relations with Brazil as well as with Latin America as a whole.

Addressing Brazilian parliamentarians, Vorotnikov said, in part, that the Soviet Union is a steadfast champion of ensuring mankind's survival in the nuclear-space age, scaling down the arms race, tackling global problems, and creating a climate of trust and cooperation. We regard human values as truly universal factors which can fuse all nations in greater unity in the efforts to build a secure future, relying on respect for both national interests and aspirations and universally recognised democratic norms of international communication.

The delegation of the Supreme Soviet paid a visit to Jose Nedri da Silveira, president of the Supreme Federal Tribunal.

The delegation also met Brazilian Foreign Minister Roberto Sodre. They exchange views on pressing issues of our time and bilateral relations.

The head of the Soviet delegation underscored the Soviet Union's openness to an extensive dialogue, drawing attention to the two countries' huge potential for boosting multifarious Soviet-Brazilian ties.

Meets With President Sarney

LD1306201189 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] Brasilia June 13 TASS—President Jose Sarney of Brazil has received a delegation from the new Soviet full-time parliament—the Supreme Soviet, which is here on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the National Congress of this country.

The delegation is being led by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, a member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's Politburo and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the largest among 15 Soviet constituent republics.

Vorotnikov handed Sarney a personal message form Mikhail Gorbachev. The Brazilian president expressed profound gratitude for the message, appreciating it highly.

He recalled with satisfaction the memorable meetings he had in Moscow during his official visit there last October and his talks with the Soviet leader.

During the reception here an extensive exchange of opinions took place on the more important issues of the times and on bilateral relations. Sarney spoke positively

of the Soviet leadership's home and foreign policies and went on record in favour of developing all-round cooperation and relations between Brazil and the USSR.

Comments on Visit's Prospects

LD1406164389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Summary] Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, continues his visit to Brazil at the head of a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation. Sergey Beldinskiy, our correspondent in Brazil, cited Brazilian press comment on the visit as promoting Soviet-Brazilian relations. In answer to a question about the aims of the Soviet delegation's visit to Brazil, Vorotnikov said:

[Begin recording] "We adhere to the policy of new thinking which consists in promoting detente, disarmament, and peaceful cooperation based on real conditions, regardless of the sociopolitical system which exists in a particular state. It is on this level that our relations with Brazil, too, are being built. And we hope that our visit, our meetings and contacts will promote the further development and strengthening of our relations which have been given special stimulus by Brazilian President Sarney's visit to our country and our task is to implement all the accords which were reached in Moscow and make further progress on the road of cooperation between our countries. That is our mission." [end recording]

Addresses Brazil's National Congress

LD1406165789 Mosocw TASS in English 1615 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Brasilia June 14 TASS—Politburo member Vitaliy Vorotnikov, president of the parliament of the largest Soviet constituent republic called the Russian Federation, described perestroyka today as a creative rethink to overcome illusions and dogmas and give socialism a new quality meeting the highest standards of humanism and progress.

The aberrations of past decades are being rectified in an atmosphere of openness, plural opinions and public debate and a socialist law-governed state is being created, he said of current developments in his country.

"Everything that we are doing is to the benefit of people," Vorotnikov stressed.

He was speaking to a joint meeting of the Foreign Relations Commissions of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies of the National Congress of Brazil.

Vorotnikov is in this country at the head of a delegation from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, staying here on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the National Congress.

"The Soviet Union has from the very beginning been active in backing the peace-making efforts of the Contadora Group and its support group," he said.

"We have not only welcomed the Guatemala accords and subsequent agreements between the presidents of Central American states, including those reached early this year in El Salvador, but have also taken, and will continue to take, specific steps towards their realisation.

"In this respect the Soviet Union stays constantly in touch with all interested states and is prepared to continue contributing to a settlement, being opposed to arms supplies to Central America from anywhere and supporting efforts to turn the region into a zone of stable peace," Vorotnikov said.

The USSR is prepared, he added, to actively assist the internationalisation of efforts towards curing such a disease of the century as foreign debt.

"The new quality of the Soviet Union's relations with Latin America, with trust becoming their integral feature, is fully characteristic of our cooperation with Brazil as well.

"We believe that it has reached maturity and is marked by political will to broaden mutually beneficial links and intensify dialogue on international problems of mutual interest," Vorotnikov said.

"The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that our bilateral relations have all the prerequisites for assuming a still greater scope and dynamism to match the potential of the two countries.

"In this respect we attach much significance to fulfilling accords reached during the October 1988 visit to the Soviet Union by President Sarney," he added.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Vorotnikov declared, will continue doing everything for the accords' implementation by the USSR.

Tours Sao Paulo, Meets Governor

LD1506084589 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Sao Paulo June 15 TASS—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, now on an official friendly visit to Brazil, arrived in Sao Paulo, the capital of Sao Paulo, Brazil's most populous and leading industrial state, on June 14.

The delegation, led by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and president of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, familiarised themselves with the Latin America Memorial, a unique architectural complex designed by world-known Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer.

The complex, inaugurated last March, is bound to promote Latin American integration and become a major centre for the exploration and popularisation of Latin American cultural heritage, the study of socio-economic problems of the region. Vorotnikov made an entry to the distinguished visitors' book.

On the same day the Soviet parliamentarians visited the Legislative Assembly of the Sao Paulo State, and took part in a plenary session. They were warmly greeted by the leaders of all local parliament parties.

Speaking to the deputies, Vorotnikov noted the great significance of the strengthening cooperation between the Soviet Union and Brazil.

Orestis Cersia, the governor of the Sao Paulo State, held a reception in honour of the Soviet delegation.

Political & Social

Ryzhkov Addresses Uzbek Party Aktiv on Unrest

PM1506165989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by unnamed TASS special correspondents: "A Serious Lesson For All"]

[Text] Tashkent, 15 Jun—Not to allow passions and emotions to flare up, analyze in detail what has happened, severely punish the culprits—this is the task set by the Communists and working people of Uzbekistan. This was stressed today at a meeting of the republic's party organization aktiv attended by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The report by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and the speeches by G.Kh. Kadyrov, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, and other speakers gave a principled assessment of the tragic events and talked of concrete measures to stabilize the situation and improve party-political work.

The meeting was addressed by N.I. Ryzhkov.

Speech By N.I. Ryzhkov

Soviet Uzbekistan has always occupied a worthy and honorable place in the international family of union republics. The sons and daughters of tbe Uzbek people made a big contribution to the cause of the revolution, of building a new life, and of defending our homeland and its independence against the fascist aggressors. We all embarked on restructuring together in order to revive the human face of socialism and, in an atmosphere of democracy, mutual respect, and equal rights, to create better conditions for the economic and social development of all the republics and the entire Soviet Union. Together we are directing our efforts toward solving the vitally important problems which were mentioned at the congress of USSR People's Deputies which has just ended.

The congress was an outstanding event in the country's life, in the great historic cause of its fundamental renewal in Soviet people's interests. There was probably no problem of concern to the people that was not raised at the congress in an atmosphere of free, comradely debate. The congress revealed the full complexity of our situation. But, at the same time, it confirmed—and this is the most important thing—the devotion of the Communist Party and the entire Soviet people to the restructuring course. It demonstrated that we have no other choice. Only through restructuring, through democracy and glasnost, through radical reform of the economic and political system is our society capable of overcoming the difficulties and providing the Soviet people with a proper life in all respects.

You know, of course, comrades that we came to the republic in connection with the tragic events in Fergana Oblast. The country's leadership, of course, had a pretty full picture of the events here. We were receiving information on this score during the congress. We met several times, including with the leadership of your republic, analyzed the situation, and tried promptly to adopt the requisite measures to localize and halt the conflict that had flared up. But what one has seen on the spot makes one to a large extent revise one's conception of the scale of the tragedy and its roots and possible consequences, which, one must be frank, are rather difficult to comprehensively evaluate at the moment.

During the trip and the numerous meetings we were dogged by the thought that all that happened was grief and unhappiness not only for the Turkish population of Uzbekistan, which suffered most in this savage conflict, but also a major tragedy for the Uzbek people, whose international consciousness has been established and has strengthened during the years of Soviet power and has honorably endured many ordeals.

How could such a crime, one that shook the whole country, have happened here, in Uzbekistan, whose people are well known for their hospitality and magnanimity. It would be a grave mistake to regard this as the Uzbek people's doing. It was not the people's doing, it was the doing of a criminal rabble who have forfeited the right to belong to this people and bear its historic and respected name.

In Fergana Oblast we had an acute sense of the people's agony. Even many members of the Turkish population, who had experienced the grim upheavals, often said that by and large they still felt appreciation and respect for the Uzbek people.

Some 45 years ago you gave refuge to a small people, victims of Stalin's tyranny. Their men were at the front at the time, fighting bravely for the homeland and many did not return. You had fraternal relations, you intermarried, and you worked together. How could something for which there is no justification and no sensible explanation have happened?

To understand what happened you have to uncover the roots, find the forces who benefit from all this. The people could not benefit. There is no doubt of that. It was the cruel and ruthless doing of those for whom interethnic enmity has always been a breeding ground for criminal license, corruption, the potential for dark political as well as economic machinations. History

provides us with examples of what catastrophic consequences the peoples face as a result of the kindling of enmity between them and all varieties of nationalism.

It is impossible not to agree with FERGANSKAYA PRAVDA's view that "we are not dealing with individual hooligan elements here. They are being used by certain forces as a blind instrument in a long-conceived, well-planned, large-scale, and skillfully implemented political action whose main objective is to destabilize the situation not only in the oblast but in the republic and the country, too." Even a preliminary analysis testifies that this was a carefully prepared action, and these are the only positions from which these tragic events in the republic must be approached.

The extremists have done their black deed. The shadow of distrust now lies between the two peoples. There are around 100 dead, several hundred wounded and maimed, thousands left homeless and without personal property which many have spent virtually a lifetime creating. Considerable economic damage has been done to the republic's national economy. And what assessment can be made of the fact that Soviet people have experienced the horrors of internecine enmity in peacetime?

How did these elements manage to involve pretty broad masses of young people in unlawful actions, pogroms, and vandalism? We also have something to investigate here. After all any peasant raises his children and grandchildren in the age-old traditions of reverence for your elders and boundless respect for mothers, the home, and neighbors. As the folk wisdom says, a close neighbor is better than a distant relative. For decades representatives of different nationalities lived in Uzbekistan in peace and concord. Feelings of hatred and mutual dislike have never been nurtured in people here. So why have some people taken up arms, including firearms? What has clouded their sense of reason and prompted them to indulge in acts of savagery?

Analysis shows that extremist leaders used everything to destabilize the situation for their own base ends. Responsibility not only for the dead, injured, and homeless peaceful citizens but also for the mutilated fates of the young people they deceived lies on their unclean conscience. All this will also have to be carefully investigated. But now the need is to act, to take both immediate and long-term measures.

It is necessary to use every available means to extinguish the hotbed of conflict and prevent it flaring up. What has to be done for this? The first thing is to use all means. The prime need is to go to the people, to go to everyone—party, soviet, and economic workers, representatives of the intelligentsia and social organizations. Extensive explanatory and informational work about the real causes of the emergence of the events and processes currently taking place in Fergana Oblast should be actively conducted among the republic's working people and population. It must be aimed at ensuring that people maintain calm, order, and good labor and civic discipline and deal a resolute rebuff to the provocateurs and extremist elements. This is one aspect of the matter.

But it is also necessary to utilize the force of law and law-enforcement agencies'potential for maintaining order, enlisting the populace itself in this and creating volunteer worker militia squads. In brief, protection against arbitrary action is needed to ensure that people regain their sociopsychological confidence and that normal life is restored in the villages more quickly.

Furthermore, as you know, citizens of Turkish nationality and their families currently in the refugee camp near Fergana have been offered the chance to leave for areas of the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone if they so wish. This is a temporary measure, of course, occasioned by the emergency situation which has developed in the camp. Measures are being taken to create normal housing and everyday living conditions for them and provide them with treatment and everything they need.

At the same time it is necessary to create a situation in other areas of the republic enabling citizens of this nationality to live and work in conditions of safety. This is currently the main task. All the efforts of party and state organs and every labor collective must be aimed at resolving it.

Comrades! It would be wrong not to say that the influence of the well-known negative phenomena which were demonstrated in their ugliest forms during the stagnation years are still making their influence clearly felt on the moral atmosphere in the republic. The resolute struggle against the consequences of corruption, degeneration among cadres, figure padding, and deformations in the economy and culture is taking place in complex and sometimes contradictory conditions, in a continuous process of overcoming the stereotypes of old thinking in social awareness.

This struggle between the old and the new has been demonstrated particularly obviously in the tragic events in Fergana Oblast. It is impossible not to acknowledge that many party committees believed that on the whole the process of renewal would develop without hitches and difficulties. What was encountered in practice, however, was problems which have caused very serious disruptions of stability in society and created social tension. What was required here was in-depth analysis, decisive conclusions, and new forms and methods of work with the masses. But timely steps were not taken in this direction, and restructuring failed to occur in the work of many party committees.

What happened in the Fergana valley shows that once again it is necessary to fully analyze the whole aggregate of political and social factors that prompted such an impermissible and uncontrollable development of events. It is clear that the decisive factor is people's

dissatisfaction with the pace of socioeconomic transformations and also the calculated exploitation of this by forces that want to distract the republic party organization from the struggle to improve the situation, counter organized crime and corruption, and bring about a really socialist, revolutionary renewal of all aspects of our life.

Yes, there are serious social difficulties in the republic. But they must be overcome by means of creation, not destruction. When analyzing the situation in the economy, one cannot fail to notice the sharp slump in development rates and substantial decline in efficiency that have continued for several 5-year plan periods.

The negligible growth in national income combined with the increase in the scale of the socioeconomic problems that must be solved is steadily causing imbalance in the economy. The extremely poor rates of production development have long failed to accord with the demographic processes characteristic of the republic, which exacerbates the social situation in its turn. This can also be judged from per capita real income. Over the first 3 years of the 5-year plan its average annual growth rate fell to an extremely low level—only 0.3 percent. And when you take into account the fact that it was only 1.3 percent even in the last 5-year plan, it becomes quite clear that for a long time now people's material well-being has essentially not been changing for the better.

The situation is compounded by per capita consumption of the most important food products, which has been declining since 1985. The development of the social sphere is causing serious concern. The targets of the housing program are not being met. The material and technical base of health protection and public education is in an unsatisfactory condition and the plans for the commissioning of preschool establishments are not being fulfilled. In general, social problems have not yet become priorities in the republic, with all the ensuing consequences. The lag in the social sphere is becoming entrenched. That is the bitter truth, that is the true state of affairs. It shows that the sheer gravity of the prevailing situation has not been fully realized in the republic. Hence the impermissible sluggishness in resolving vital tasks of the people's life. This ultimately undermines the prestige of the policy of restructuring. Without making a breakthrough in the complex situation in the economy in the shortest possible time and without alleviating social tension, it is difficult to create a healthy, calm atmosphere.

It is quite clear that under conditions in Central Asia it is impossible to obtain a substantial acceleration in economic growth without profound social changes—ensuring effective employment, improving the quality of education and schooling, and bolstering the population's health.

The nature of the development of agriculture is causing particular concern.

In recent years production of grain, vegetables, potatoes, and grapes has declined. The growth rate in livestock raising output remains low. Per capita meat production is only 22 kg and has increased only 1 kg compared with 1985.

The slight increase in food deliveries via all-union stocks and imports has essentially not changed the situation in the food market. Therefore different, more radical measures are needed. These, as people's deputies from the Uzbek SSR said at the congress, are linked with the structural restructuring of agro-industrial production and above all with eliminating cotton monoculture and with the faster buildup of production of meat, milk, and other food products in the republic. This problem is truly pressing, acutely urgent, and at the same time difficult and complex.

Uzbekistan is the country's main cotton base. This contribution by the republic to the national economy certainly cannot be underestimated. But at the same time we must support the proposals from the Uzbek SSR's scientists and public for the drafting of a special all-union "Cotton" program as the basis for the whole development strategy of this sector and the region's economy as a whole. Another pressing question is that of increasing cotton purchase prices according to its national economic significance and quality indicators. The republic has submitted proposals about this. They are now being studied.

The raising of the question of expanding the processing of cotton fiber, that is, of the faster development of the republic's textile industry, is also correct. Here, too, serious progress is required.

The problem of processing agricultural output at the site of production also remains urgent. The program for the development of the food industry and the retooling of processing sectors is defined by the resolution adopted by the government. However, today it has to be said that there is sluggishness and shilly-shallying in implementing the planned measures. In most cases those are the only explanation for the failure to commission capacities for vegetable oil production, livestock processing, and the construction of milling enterprises and for the delay in reconstruction of a whole series of projects. In the first 3 years of the 5-year plan targets for the commissioning of fixed capital at processing and storage facilities were only 86 percent fulfilled. This can no longer be tolerated. I want to remind you that an increase of at least 50 percent in production of food products must be ensured in the republic by deepening the processing of agricultural raw materials, reducing losses, and expanding the range and improving the quality of output.

In order to enhance the agrarian sector's efficiency, it is necessary to effect a profound structural restructuring of the republic's entire economic exploitation of land and water resources.

We consider it correct that the republic has taken a firm line of cutting back new construction and expanding to the utmost the work on reconstruction of existing systems, application of water-saving irrigation technologies, and systems for water recycling and multiple reusage of purified waters. But work on the reconstruction of irrigation systems is unfolding slowly, and so far there have been no real results in enhancing the productivity of irrigated crop farming and in saving water resources.

Of course, a lot of work still has to be done on the social reconstruction of the countryside. This applies to housing construction, main gas and electricity supplies, medical and trade services, education, and culture. Funds for these purposes ought to be sought both from state investments and from farms' own financial resources. For its part, the union government will do everything to ensure that the country's economy is oriented as much as possible toward the coutryside's needs. We perceive this as a real opportunity to substantially change the situation as regards foodstuffs in the country within the briefest possible time period.

Comrades!

The situation prevailing in the region has once again proved with painful urgency how far chronically unresolved problems may lead. Let us go no further than the most complex question of the population's rational employment.

Despite the high rates of population growth in Uzbekistan, one out of every five adult residents capable of working is not employed in the public sector economy. And the numerical strength of the unemployed population is steadily rising. The situation is already critical in a number of places like, for example, the Fergana Valley. These alarming facts are universally known.

Is there any need, comrades, to say that what we have is an obvious underestimation of how acute the employment problem is by local soviet executive committees and the leaders of enterprises and organizations. In the situation that has taken shape, this borders on political shortsightedness.

The large number of people without work does not mean just a direct decline of living standards and a focus for a buildup of social tension. This applies primarily to young people, to those who are making their way in life today, those whose world philosophy is being shaped today. It is at the same time a breeding ground which automatically encourages a predisposition toward unearned incomes, parasitism, and law-breaking.

In brief, taking into consideration the acuteness of the prevailing situation and the faster growth of labor resources in the future, it is necessary to make the most radical efforts to boost employment in Uzbekistan.

The recently adopted program for the development of the republic's productive forces envisages appropriate measures to solve this question. In our view, however, the problem is so acute and creates so much social tension that it will certainly become necessary to bring forward the deadlines for the implementation of planned measures and for the implementation of additional measures to create a sizeable quantity of new jobs in the immediate future.

The union government is prepared to examine this question without any delay and to adopt an appropriate resolution.

A few words about some general questions of nationalities policy and interethnic relations. Uzbekistan with its almost 20 million residents is inhabited by, in addition to Uzbeks who comprise about 70 percent of the population, representatives of many nations and ethnic groups.

Events of recent days make it necessary to ponder whether the republic party organization is doing everything to prevent nationalist manifestations. In the conditions of a multinational republic, any slackening in this work could produce grave consequences. We cannot say that we have no suitable soil for the seedlings of nationalism to spring up. You know well that this disease is exceptionally tenacious. After all, at times a single careless and insulting word is sufficient to make it break out. Therefore, even greater demands ought to be made as regards the standards of the party's ideological work.

Is everything as it should be here? I do not intend to pass judgment on this with any complete certainty, because I have, of course, had no opportunity to gain an impression of the state of ideological work in just 3 days. But I can say with certainty that the flare-up of nationalist manifestations during the Fergana events failed to produce an equivalent outburst of ideological counteraction by the republic's party organs and mass media. Surely, they ought to have sounded the alarm when pogroms against a small people began in Tashlak? I would have thought that the republic's entire party apparatus should have responded to this, that the party's best forces should have been mobilized and set in motion. None of this occurred, however, and—on the contrary—there were signs of inertia and an impermissible policy of wait-and-see.

At the same time, it cannot be said that the Fergana events took the party and soviet organs by surprise, so to speak. It is known that, beginning in April this year, these organs began receiving warnings about projected actions against the Meskhetian Turks. Written threats to Turks, who were advised to leave the republic, began to appear at enterprises. During this same period there were increasing instances of their being refused employment. Several instances have been established in which purposeful attempts were made to discover the specific

places of residence of Meskhetian Turks. The latest population census data were utilized for this purpose. In individual cases the addresses were specified by militiamen.

The most authoritative figures from the world of culture—primarily the creative intelligentsia, whose impassioned words can at such moments kindle the flame of good and compassion in people's hearts—should have raised their voices against this danger. Unfortunately, such speeches have not been the distinguishing feature of the mass media during this time. One would have liked the voice of the Uzbek intelligentsia to ring out much more loudly and anxiously and to assist the spiritual climate's more rapid liberation from nationalist outbursts.

Internationalism has always been and remains our tried and tested weapon. It is a vital part of the Soviet people, including the peoples of Uzbekistan. For all of us the brotherhood of the working people and the brotherhood of the peoples have become an inalienable feature of the spiritual essence of and an object of pride for Soviet man. We are now building our relations with the entire outside world on the basis of the priority of universal values. And this is inextricably linked with our adherence to the principles of internationalism. How to utilize this wealth in practical work is a question of the creative approach of each Communist and each party organization.

As we know, the problems of nationalities policy and interethnic relations were extensively discussed at the congress. The people's deputies have made a substantial contribution to the understanding of the importance, necessity, and complexity of resolving the problems which have accumulated in interethnic relations over many years and of correcting the errors and deformations committed in this fragile, delicate sphere of human relationships.

There has been a substantial change in the functions of the Soviet of Nationalities, which has now become an organ for the legislative solution of the problems of the existence and development of the nations and ethnic groups, and of the regions inhabited by them and the social institutions being formed.

A number of new deputies' commissions, including one dealing directly with nationalities policy and interethnic relations, is being created in the Soviet of Nationalities. The need has been identified for the priority solution of the national problems of previously repressed peoples. Many other national issues—including some of those which are particularly topical for the republics of Central Asia—are knocking on the doors of the new parliament.

Today it is necessary to erect a solid barrier to the dissemination of provocative rumors. The chief role in this belongs to the mass media, which must react to events more swiftly and make a truthful assessment of them, thereby closing the channels to the disseminmation of conjecture and fabrication which stir people up. The press, radio, and television must take an active position in elucidating the reasons for the emergence and the motivations of those forces who provoked the disorders, pogroms, and killing of innocent people. The situation must be approached in such a way as to mobilize the healthy forces for a relentless struggle against the dark forces which unleashed this tragic conflict. It is necessary to explain to people the essence of the measures to stabilize the situation in Fergana and other oblasts of the republic being taken by the government commission and the local party and soviet organs.

Today the entire people are experiencing deep pain over what has happened in our common home. We must all take care to ensure that such a thing never happens again. But—as I have already said—the chief responsibility lies with the republic party organization. It must draw conclusions regarding its future work, provide a political assessment for everything that has happened, and severely punish those who in any way promoted the excesses, who compromised the high calling of Communist, and whose conscience is not clear. It must be said that the tragic events in Fergana Oblast have demonstrated not only the confusion of many party organizations but also the loss of control over the situation. It is precisely in such extreme situations that the fighting ability of the party organizations, their true authority among the people, and their right to be the political vanguard of society are tested.

At the same time it is necessary also to mention those Communists who have suffered outrages but have not altered their convictions. This is a direct reproach to all those who should have acted thusly but did not do so.

The tragic events in Fergana have left their mark on everyone with whom I have had occasion to talk. The pain of the loss of relatives and close ones has sounded identically from the lips of Turkish women and Uzbek mothers. The grief and anguish has bent old men over, there has been fear in the eyes of the children. The killers and their accomplices and inspirers will suffer the severe punishment of the law, whoever they are. Let no one doubt this.

The tragedy that has occurred in Uzbekistan must be a serious lesson for all of us. It testifies once again what a considered and respectful approach is required by any question in the sphere of interethnic relations. When there has been a full analysis of what went on in Fergana the Central Committee Politburo will examine this question and will draw the appropriate political conclusions.

Undoubtedly, the republic party organization will give a principled party assessment and will demand a strict account, both of each Communist who to one degree or another played an unseemly role in these events and of those who stood on the sidelines.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo are certain that the republic's party organization has the forces and capabilities to establish a

moral-political atmosphere in society which will promote in every way the cohesion of all the peoples of Uzbekistan and enable them to live and work in fraternal unity and to restore the republic's good name.

Ryzhkov Says Unity Needed

LD1506144289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] A meeting of the Uzbek party organization aktiv held in Tashkent today. Taking part in it were Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and Chebrikov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary. The report by Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Central Committee first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and the speeches by Kadyrov, chairman of the republics's Council of Ministers, and other speakers, gave a principled evaluation of the tragic events.

Specific measures aimed at stabilizing the situation and improving party and political work were discussed. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov spoke at the meeting. He said, in particular, that the tragedy which has taken place in Uzbekistan must be a serious lesson for all of us. It demonstrates again what a balanced and respectful approach is required in any matter within the sphere of relations between the nationalities. When there has been a full analysis of what happened in Fergana, the Central Committee Politburo will comprehensively examine this matter and will make the corresponding political conclusions. The CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo are confident that the republic's party organization has the strength and the means to create the kind of moral and political atmosphere in society which would in all ways promote the unity of all the peoples of Uzbekistan and allow them to live and work in fraternal unity and restore the republic's good name.

Ryzhkov, Chebrikov End Visit to Uzbekistan

LD1506145389 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, and Viktor Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, left Tashkent for Moscow on Thursday. They visited the Republic of Uzbekistan in connection with the developments in the Fergana region.

Deputy Ivanov Collects Information on Uzbek Case

PM1506195789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[Own correspondent A. Kaipbergenov dispatch under the rubric "On Events in Fergana Oblast": "In Search of the Reasons for the Tragedy"]

[Text] Fergana, 15 Jun—Who is to blame for what has happened? How was it possible for the terrible tragedy in Fergana Oblast to occur? These questions are on everyone's lips today. Who will answer them?

Thirteen cases of criminal proceedings have already been instituted by the investigating organs. I have learned that several dozen organizers of the disturbances, killings, and arsons are on the run. During the past 24 hours, 26 Molotov cocktails and 157 firearms and knives have been confiscated as a result of checks carried out on roads. And a total of 7,718 weapons have been confiscated since the curfew was introduced. The remains of two more people have been added to the sad toll of the excesses. Since the beginning of the turmoil 1,051 buildings have been plundered and set on fire, including 750 residences. Yesterday, for as yet unknown reasons, a railroad truck containing the property of Meskhetian Turks who are being evacuated was reduced to ashes.

In connection with a slackening of tension during the past few days, many USSR Ministry of Interior internal forces commanders, political officers, and servicemen are holding meetings in the oblast's labor collectives and educational establishments. Agitation and propaganda groups have been set up in the military units to work with the population. At last, the oblast's party workers have also remembered their immediate duties. At enterprise rallies and collective meetings are being held where the extremists' actions are being discussed.

Here is another sign of a certain relaxation of tension.

"Today pupils from the city's schools and vocational technical colleges have left for the U. Yusupov state farm on the outskirts of the city to help pick apricots for drying for a few days," A. Likholat, chairman of the city soviet executive committee told me. "They will be working in the No 2 section which used to be densely peopled by Meskhetian Turks. Internal forces servicemen are also lending a hand.

On the instruction of A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, V. Ivanov, USSR people's deputies from Crimea Oblast and a worker, and V. Simvolokov, a teacher and coach at a sports school for children and young people—arrived in Fergana by air 11 June.

"We are gathering material for the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities commission which will investigate the tragedy," Viktor Ivanov told me. "We have visited the refugee camp, met people at their places of work and in the streets, and talked to Government Commission Chairman G.Kh. Kadyrov and leaders of soviet and party organs. Our first sad impressions are that a terrible tragedy has happened, one of the 'mines' which was laid during the years of the personality cult and was never cleared subsequently has exploded."

[Kaipbergenov] "Judging by appearances, does it seem to you that the mass terror was organized?"

[Ivanov] "It would appear so. Otherwise it is difficult to explain such a flareup. After all, whole generations have grown up here together over the past 45 years. People intermarried, especially, as their languages are similar, I was told, and most of the Meskhetian Turks attended Uzbek schools."

[Kaipbergenov] "You have probably already drawn your first conclusions?"

[Ivanov] "I am talking about impressions. Vyacheslav Simvolokov and I will report our conclusions to the commission after thorough familiarization with the situation. Yesterday three more of our colleagues arrived here. On the initiative of the commission, gatherings of citizens are being organized at which people themselves offer protection to their neighbors. This is the most effective guarantee. After all, you cannot post a serviceman at every house."

[Kaipbergenov] "Who is there to protect, since all the oblast's Meskhetian Turks have been placed in a refugee camp from where they are being evacuated beyond the borders of the republic?"

[Ivanov] "In my opinion, this idea should be adopted in neighboring oblasts where the situation remains uneasy."

[Kaipbergenov] "You spoke figuratively about 'mines' that have been laid. But why did they explode precisely here and with such a devastating effect?"

[Ivanov] "We have only seen what lies on the surface, what meets the eye. Competent organs will have to deal with the 'underlying' causes. This is the sphere of competence of the Ministry of the Interior, the KGB, and the Prosecutor's Office... And, of course, of the local party committees.

[Kaipbergenov] "Might it not happen that they again try to pass the buck and the truth is never revealed. Many people are pinning their hopes on the newly elected Supreme Soviet."

[Ivanov] "I will refrain from answering such a pointed question. I can only repeat that we will report our opinion to the commission and it will draw its conclusions with the help of material supplied by the law enforcement organs."

[Kaipbergenov] "Among the leaders, military leaders, who failed to immediately assume responsibility for the adoption of resolute measures a new explanation has appeared—'the Tbilisi syndrome.' Without going into the Tbilisi tragedy, I would like to share with you a view which I have heard from many people to whom I have talked: If only resolute measures had been adopted on 3, 4, or at worst 5 June, the disturbances would have never assumed such a scale, and there would be fewer casualties. And here is the testimony of Sergeant O. Malyshev, who has been in the notorious Komsomolskiy settlement since 3 June: 'The bandits threw stones and Molotov cocktails at us. Seeing that they managed to push us back, they started wrecking buses and then set them alight. They tried to beat up the servicemen who were near the buses. And they especially threatened the young Uzbeks who were with us. We were 127 men in all. The mob numbered several thousand. In circumstances where the use of special means, weapons, and even billy clubs was banned, we were simply unable to counter the frenzied hooligan mob.'"

There are always people who try to hedge, especially since lately certain people have been trying to pit the people against the Army. I was told that many people of all nationalities met the internal forces here as their liberators from anarchy, excesses, and lawlessness on a massive scale. To different degrees all people were suffering, irrespective of ethnic origin. In the prevailing situation the internal forces were the only means to guarantee peoples' lives.

...The funeral of the Meskhetian Turks who perished took place in the refugee camp today.

Officials Comment on Recent Clashes in Uzbekistan

Uzbek Procurator: 'No Chance Act'

LD1506214589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Interview with Dmitriy Aleksandrovich Usatov, procurator of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, by correspondent Mukhtar Ganiyev in Tashkent; from the "Vremya" newscast; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [video shows Usatov, Ganiyev talking in foyer of large conference hall] [Usatov] It is immediately obvious that the tragic events in Fergana Oblast are no chance act, but an action that was thoroughly planned and thought out. And at the meeting today this was emphasized repeatedly. This is shown, in the first place, by the quantity of weapons that have been confiscated—over 5,000 pieces in all, of various kinds: stabbing, slashing and cutting weapons, firearms and so on. This indicates careful preparation. Sharpened objects, all kinds of clubs studded with nails, various homemade pistols, sawed-off shotguns, hunting rifles and so on. A huge quantity of weapons has been seized.

Second, we know that certain hit-squads were formed, which incited people and dashed around in cars and on motorcycles to inhabited localities and tried to stir up the people. According to evidence given by several eyewitnesses, these squads, consisting of 10-15 people, were fully armed with sawed-off shotguns and rifles. Today we can confidently say that the actions were very well planned, because, as soon as we moved our men and equipment into Tashlak, let's say, or (Margilan), these hooligan elements who were committing excesses moved to Fergana. We started to move into Fergana, and from

Fergana they moved, let's say, to Kokand, Uzbekistan, and so on. In other words, they were very well informed about all our actions and adopted countermeasures.

The Uzbek people are not to blame, on the whole. Those responsible are a handful of extremists who want to destabilize the situation in the republic, in the oblast. This is shown in the republic as a whole. Families of Meskhetian Turks and Uzbeks live side by side. Running mortal risks, Uzbeks hid children, wives, and old men in their own homes, saving them from violence.

[Ganiyev] Tell me, what is the procuracy doing to somehow stabilize the situation today, so as not to create panic, and to campaign against rumors?

[Usatov] I must say bluntly that these rumors to the effect that the children of Uzbeks, let's say, or some Turks or others are being lifted up on pitchforks, or about some atrocities by the Turks, let's say—these rumors are completely devoid of any foundation. There have been no such cases. I can fully assure you of that. All this has been exaggerated by persons who, I repeat, have an interest in inflaming these passions.

I must say also that one of the elements of the organization—they are, after all, organized acts—is the fact that, since 23 and 24 May, a vast amount, I would say, of propaganda work has been carried out among a certain section of the Uzbek population, precisely with the use of these incorrect, distorted instances and rumors, so as to inflame hatred in the Turkish population. In the near future we will deploy all our forces in order to take them to court and bring every case to the notice of the public at large through the mass media, so that people can see that there is authority, that it is making use of its legitimate powers and means, and that order is established.

[Ganiyev] And that crime is punishable?

[Usatov] Absolutely. All the criminals, all the criminals. You can't call them anything else. In the case in point, we dealt not with peaceful demonstrations or processions. We were dealing with armed and well-prepared bandits, robbers, arsonists, rapists, and so on, and looters. Our law will of course triumph completely.

'Someone's Hand' Directs 'Bandits'

PM1606083189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Lieutenant General A.V. Anikiyev, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Political Administration, by TASS correspondent V. Itkin especially for PRAVDA: "According to Duty and Conscience"—date and place not specified]

[Text] [Itkin] The mass media are being inundated with questions in connection with the tragic events in Uzbekistan: Why was the bloodshed not prevented, why were the internal troops late in coming, and why are decisive measures not being taken against the rampaging thugs, murderers, looters, rapists, and those who behaved like animals?

[Anikiyev] Law enforcement organs are also receiving questions like these. Soviet people's anxiety and concern are understandable and explicable. There is only one word for the things I have seen with my own eyes: horror. It is hard to take it in. The savage torture of children and old people, the humiliation of women, the refined, sadistic murder of totally innocent people of Turkish, Uzbek, and other nationalities, the violation of corpses—it is staggering in its brutality and inhumanity. But it has happened... and cannot be forgotten.

Throughout the entire tragedy, internal affairs organs and internal troops made constant efforts to stop the massive riots. They are coping with their responsibilities on the whole. With regard to reports in the press that hooligans seized a rayon militia department and released detainees from custody, checks have not borne this out. However, unfortunately we were unable to prevent tragic consequences everywhere. There are many casualties. According to the best information we have, more than 1,500 people have sustained gunshot, knife, and other injuries. Hundreds of houses, administrative buildings, and vehicles have been burned. We have yet to investigate why our citizens were initially without protection against these hooligan attacks.

The picture is gradually becoming clear. More than 60 criminal cases have been instituted. As to the troops being late... In my view, if this was indeed the case, it was because the center was given imprecise information on the events and because the republic leadership showed indecisiveness. When I spent a whole day at a refugee camp for Meskhetian Turks, they asked me direct questions: How did we manage to land our troops in Afghanistan in a matter of hours yet did not manage to come to their assistance in time? In this respect I think there was a lack of professional foresight on the part of law enforcement organs. After all, the first events occurred around 20 May, when there was a fight involving more than 1,500 people on both sides.

The storm clouds have been gathering for some time. The complications in relations between the Meskhetian Turks and the indigenous population did not appear overnight. They were particularly exacerbated toward the end of 1988. And, of course, the root of the problem is not some dispute over the sale of strawberries or an unshared glass of beer in a teahouse. The causes run much deeper.

The Meskhetian Turks and Uzbek working people have lived together in an amicable atmosphere for 45 years. The majority of Turks have a good knowledge of the Uzbek and Russian languages, but their own native tongue, particularly among young people, has begun to

be forgotten. The Meskhetian Turks fear the degeneration of their ethnic group. The old people still sing folk songs, but the youth now have their own songs to sing. Native traditions, customs, and rituals are being forgotten. The Turks have long been asking questions about this, but the issues remain unresolved. Moreover, in this atmosphere extremist elements from the indigenous nationality have demanded that they be removed from Uzbekistan.

[Itkin] Other questions are also being asked: Why did the militia and internal troops subunits not use weapons themselves? Why were they exposed to attack by bandit elements?

[Anikiyev] My opinion is this: Whatever the reasons, law enforcement organs are obliged to protect citizens in any situation and against any encroachments. As far as weapons are concerned, our use of them was not sanctioned in the first days of the events. At the same time, the local population demanded that internal affairs bodies punish the pogromists with the toughest possible measures. People claimed that, sensing their impunity, the bandits were forming more and more new flying squads. The hooligans were armed with firearms and all kinds of stakes, axes, and knives.

[Itkin] Staffers of internal affairs organs have been killed and injured. What is this—an inability to defend themselves?

[Anikiyev] The point is that the bandits issued the call: "Smash the militia and the soldiers—they have taken the Meskhetians under their protection and so must be in league with them." There was one incident where a militant group attacked four militiamen and a settling of scores seemed to be in the cards. The militiamen used weapons to defend themselves. Two of the attackers were killed. The next morning fire bombs were hurled at the homes of these militiamen. There is constant intimidation and blackmail. And, of course, there is no point in hiding the fact that the mood among the local militia is not the most militant. I can still see in my mind's eye a badly beaten militiaman, an Uzbek by nationality, who had been kicked, stabbed, and then thrown helpless over a fence. He is now in hospital in a very serious condition. Here is another incident. Similar hooligans—incidentally, they are either teenagers or young people under the age of 25—used a car to stop a bus in which there was a uniformed militiaman. They savagely beat up the Uzbek driver. They dragged the militiaman off the bus, beat him up until he was half dead, and threw him into the road. The passengers then drove the victim to the city themselves. [PRAVDA's First Edition for 15 June also carries this interview but omits the preceeding passage, beginning with "People claimed that..."]

[Itkin] What tactics are law enforcement organs now employing?

[Anikiyev] The main thing is to fully protect the population, conquer fear, and prevent panic. I would venture to say that we have the situation in Fergana completely under control. All intersections and administrative buildings are under guard. Streets and houses are under control. The same is being done in Kokand. Helicopters are helping. A curfew is in effect. The leaders of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs main administrations—criminal investigation, investigation, protection of public order, and internal troops—who are here are drawing up operations to prevent riots in other regions of the republic. A big investigations group from the USSR Prosecutor's Office, Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Prosecutor's Office, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and USSR KGB is working in Fergana, Kokand, and Tashkent. Several hundred people suspected of organizing pogroms, murders, and violence have been arrested. Investigations are under way. In addition to ensuring law and order, staffers of law enforcement organs are quashing any provocative rumors and urging people not to panic. But the tense situation is still being exacerbated. Someone's hand is directing the bandits' actions.

[Itkin] And the last question. Are the actions taken by staffers of internal affairs organs in this situation lawful?

[Anikiyev] I am sure they are. We are acting in accordance with the law in this situation. The republic's criminal code contains articles on "necessary defense" and "extreme necessity." There are also official instructions for personnel of internal affairs organs and internal troops which literally state the following: "An action meeting the criteria of an [unlawful] act envisaged by the law but committed in a state of extreme necessity, namely, to remove a danger threatening the interests of the Soviet state, public interests, an individual, or the rights of that individual or other citizens, is not a crime if the danger cannot, under the circumstances, be removed by other means..."

So decisive action must be taken in every specific instance. Murderers should expect no mercy.

Tajik Qadi Notes 'Bitterness'

LD1506191989 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Dushanbe June 15 TASS—"For about two weeks the attention of my parishoners, of all the Moslems of our republic is focused on the tragic developments in the neighbouring Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan," Akbar Kakharov, chief Qadi of Tajikistan, a Soviet Central Asian republic, has told TASS.

He spoke with bitterness about the unrest in the Fergana region and stressed that [word indistinct] Moslems are unanimous in their attitude to the criminals whose behaviour does not resemble that of human beings, as well as to those who encourage them—the extremists sowing discord between Uzbeks and Meskhetian Turks [words indistinct] lived in peace for over 40 years. The

developments in Fergana evoke anger and rightful indignation. Crimes have been committed which are sure to be punished both by Allah and by the law. The actions of the criminals are incompatible either with the religious moral standards or with the values of Soviet society in which we are all full-fledged citizens," the Qadi stressed.

The spiritual leader expressed concern over the participation in clashes of the young people who, in his opinion, should have inherited the best that the older generation had. "I urge parents to assume full responsibility for the souls and the behaviour of their children who are violating by their cruel actions the main behest of Allah—thou shalt not kill," Qadi Akbar Kakharov said.

"We are praying in hope that the good will outdo the evil. On behalf of the Moslem community we approve the efforts of the Soviet Government aimed at settling the inter-ethnic conflict as soon as possible," he pointed out in conclusion.

Pro-Khomeyni Feeling Behind Events

PM1506122589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General V.K. Pankin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration for Criminal Investigations, by unattributed TASS correspondents, in Fergana, under the rubric "Concerning Events in Fergana": "Punishment Is Inevitable"—date not given]

[Text] Hundreds of thousands of Fergana's residents have yet to get over the bitter aftertaste of the recent tragic events. People from all over the country are telephoning the oblast center. And they are all asking the same questions: "How is the investigation proceeding? Have the persons guilty of murder, arson, and looting been found yet?" The lack of reliable information gives rise to contradictory rumors. Many people believe that only bystanders from the rampaging mob have been detained and that the instigators of the disturbances are still at large. At the request of TASS correspondents, Lieutenant General V.K. Pankin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Main Administration for Criminal Investigations, described the course of the investigation of the crimes.

[TASS] Newspaper reports and conversations with Fergana residents prompt the conclusion that there was a certain amount of confusion among militia organs, and even a state of shock among them during the first few hours. How would you appraise the local militia's actions?

[Pankin] It is difficult to give an unambiguous answer to this question. First, the circumstances surrounding the events are without precedent in our experience. This extraordinary situation proved that many militia staffers were simply unprepared to act in such a complex situation. Second, it must be said that in general today we totally lack the necessary legal norms for the actions of internal affairs organs in cases when it is necessary not only to display courage and resolve but also to employ the most extreme measures.

I am forced to note that a special situation has been created today. The militia is simply scared to use any means of defense. Even though in such circumstances there are, of course, no other ways to contain a mob of between 3,000 and 5,000 people high on drugs and alcohol and advancing on a couple of dozen militia staffers.

The combination of these factors—personnel's lack of professional training, their small numbers, and the lack of legal protection—created the opinion about confusion among the militia. But it is now obvious that, despite isolated incidents, the militia rose fittingly to the occasion. One could cite numerous examples of the courage and staunchness with which MVD staffers repulsed the bandits. That is how it was in Tashlak, Kokand, Yaypan...

Special mention must be made of the considered judgment and humanity displayed in cases when militia staffers nonetheless had to use their weapons. All this played a part in events, brought the crowd to its senses, and did not encourage any sense of impunity.

[TASS] How is the investigation of the crimes progressing?

[Pankin] A large, 200-person investigation task force including crime detection specialists, investigators, and experts from various cities in the country is at work in the oblast. They are all experienced workers schooled in "trouble spots"—Azerbaijan, Armenia... Video and computer technology is being used for the first time on the entire investigation. This has enabled us to considerably reduce the time taken to collect and consolidate the evidence. Thanks to this, we have managed to complete a considerable amount of investigative work in just a few days.

Data have been received on hundreds of people who played an active part in the disturbances. Dozens of people have been arrested on suspicion of murder, including a group of 5 people who committed 7 murders and looted 10 homes. We have exposed a group of 12 bandits, headed by Tashlak settlement resident "K", which murdered a family and committed 6 pogroms and arson attacks on citizens' homes.

The law enforcement organs are ferreting out and confiscating all sorts of weapons. For example, Militia Senior Lieutenant R. Suvankulov, precinct inspector with the Kokand City Internal Affairs Department, was brutally beaten by a rampaging crowd during mass disturbances in Kokand on 7 June. The criminals stole his pistol. As a result of comprehensive on-the-spot investigations, it was established that Kh. Abdurakhmanov, a 20-year-old resident of Kata-Kishkar village,

was a direct participant in the attack. He was arrested. The investigation also revealed that Abdurakhmanov hijacked a motorcycle and ran over a child while riding it. The stolen pistol, ammunition, and motorcycle were confiscated, and an investigation is under way to establish other instances of Abdurakhmanov's criminal actions.

The organizers of and active participants in the attack on the Tashlakskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department administrative building have also been arrested and will very soon be brought to trial.

Today we have at our disposal a fairly complete photographic library of participants in the events. In all, 11 murders have been solved at the present stage of the investigation.

The prosecutor's office and KGB staffers play an active part in solving the crimes and the population is of great help.

[TASS] Could you tell us about the people who were involved in the disturbances?

[Pankin] Most of the people were no older than 30, but there were also adolescents.

It is impossible to describe the rampaging crowd as a faceless gray mass, as some are trying to do. The participants in the vandalism also included former staffers of internal affairs organs who have compromised themselves. They are, of course, familiar with our work methods, which creates additional difficulties for the investigation. There were quite a few representatives of the intelligentsia among the active participants in the events. Many of them make no secret of the fact that they are active members of the "Birlik" informal association.

We recorded the arrival of informals at the trouble spots. As far as we know, they made no attempt to restrain the young people. Furthermore, "Birlik" representatives made complaints alleging that cruel measures were used in imposing order. The informals are attempting to present the brigandage as a rally for national unity. The lamentable outcome of these, pardon the expression, demonstrations is widely known.

We have operational information that young people were paid money to participate in extremist actions—R50, R100, and even larger amounts. There are also other facts that should be pondered. For example, on their way to commit arson and robberies, the extremists used drugs and alcohol, which cost a lot of money.

[TASS] Vyacheslav Kirilovich, why do you think it was that the Meskhetian Turks were chosen as victims for the rampaging thugs? After all, they have much in common with the indigenous population. Take religion, for instance. Furthermore, every Meskhetian Turk is perfectly fluent in the Uzbek language.

[Pankin] In my opinion, the Meskhetian Turks were simply a pretext for the organizers of the outrages. The investigation has yet to reach its final conclusions, but it is already clear that the thugs had big plans. Unfortunately, they managed to achieve a great deal. It must be admitted that the passive noninterference by the majority of the population also played a role here. Let me note that neither law enforcement, party, nor soviet organs showed themselves in the best light. All this boosted the confidence of the extremists and the organizers of the disturbances, who took refuge beneath slogans about national interests while their real slogans were: "Let's choke the Turks, let's choke Lenin's degenerates—the Russians. Long live the Islamic banner, the Muslim religion, and Ayatollah Khomeyni!" Here is another example: During the disturbances in Kokand, thugs took refuge beneath slogans advocating society's restructuring.

[TASS] What do you think? Are the disturbances in Fergana Oblast an extreme situation which arose spontaneously or a well planned action?

[Pankin] There are grounds to believe that the tragic events were quite well organized and planned. The terrain was reconnoitered in advance. Only the homes of Meskhetian Turks were destroyed. The raiders had thoroughly studied approach and escape routes and made extensive use of vehicles. There is evidence that the thugs were continually supplied with rocks and bottles containing an inflammable mixture. In my opinion, there can be no question of the events having been spontaneous.

All measures will be taken to complete the investigation within as short a time as possible. We have the manpower, technology, resources, work experience, and solid collaboration among all law enforcement organs for this. We perceive this as our official and party duty. There can be no doubt that the culprits will be punished with the full severity of the law. Punishment is inevitable.

Tajiks, Uzbeks Clash Over Land, Water in May

PM1406105789 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 31 May 89 p 5

[TADZHIKTA report: "Solving Problems on a Business-like Basis"]

[Text] A tense conflict situation has arisen recently in a number of the republic's rural regions. These difficult situations, which affect rural inhabitants' vital interests, are based on our eternal shortage of land and irrigation water. It must be said straightaway that such phenomena are not the result of restructuring. They have occurred on several occasions before. They have their roots above all in the economic sphere. But now that we are endeavoring to solve the problems rather than hold interminable discussions about them, people involved in these conflicts do indeed want to seek changes.

It is another matter whether all methods are acceptable for this in our difficult, turbulent time, when we are calling a spade a spade.

So, a word about the first conflict. Tajiks and Uzbeks have long lived in peace and harmony on Kolkhozabad's "40 let Oktyabrya" Collective Farm [kolkhoz]. They have worked together in the fields, celebrated holidays, countered natural disasters, and strengthened their native kolkhoz's economy. Why have they had a falling-out, what has overshadowed these good-neighborly relations?

One day in February this year republic offices received a number of statements from the population of this kolkhoz's "Rokhi Lenin" sector, which is inhabited by Uzbeks. They announced: M. Barfakov, the kolkhoz chairman, is displaying regional favoritism, he is rude in his dealings with people, and is resolving production and social and consumer questions in an unsatisfactory manner. The letters also mentioned that M. Barfakov is helping kindle interethnic dissension and flouting the rights of the Uzbek population and so on.

Anyone who has seen the Vakhsh Valley knows the difficulties farmers here have to surmount in the struggle against the continuous rise in the water table—a result of the imperfect irrigation system and soil irrigation methods. Tajiks live in the "Kakhramon" sector of this kolkhoz. Their homes and personal plots have suffered badly as a result of the rise in the water table. Violations of the correct operation of the drainage system have come to light. Specialists concluded that the village would have to be moved to higher ground. The choice fell on land belonging to the "Rokhi Lenin" sector, where the water table is low. The kolkhoz board announced a decision regarding the resettlement of families to this area without even first discussing the question with its inhabitants, a team of whom lost 28 hectares of irrigated land used for personal plots.

That is the background. Then actions developed like lightning. Indignant at this decision, the inhabitants of the "Rokhi Lenin" sector bombarded all offices with statements and sent their envoys there.

A group of women and children from the "Rokhi Lenin" sector occupied the Kolkhozabadskiy Rayon Party Committee [raykom] conference hall 17 May. After sitting in the hall for 5 days, the "strikers" moved to the square opposite the raykom, where they can still be found to this day. Their demands have somewhat changed now: They are not only demanding that their land not be "handed over" to the immigrants but also that their sector be joined to the neighboring "Yangi Turmush" or M. Gorkiy kolkhozes.

You can understand this sector's inhabitants—the question was originally decided without their involvement, which is inadmissible. But you have to be realistic: There are at least two sides involved in any conflict. What about the other side? The inhabitants of the "Kakhramon" sector did not decide of their own free will to quit their old haunts.

So a serious conflict has arisen owing to the kolkhoz leaders' irresponsible attitude of bureaucratic indifference to people's fate and their fundamental interests. It most likely had no connection with interethnic relations in the beginning. But people whom this theory suits have now automatically given this conflict an ethnic context.

At present a Tajik Communist Party Central Committee commission is studying thoroughly all the circumstances of the conflict. People must be aware that their future and vital interests are reliably defended by Soviet laws irrespective of their national affiliation and the position they hold.

There is a second conflict. Its roots, if one can say this, go even deeper. The borders between the Tajik and Kirghiz union republics on the territory of Isfarinskiy Rayon were not established sufficiently precisely and unambiguously on the spot at the time of the national-territorial delimitation of the peoples of Central Asia and were not ratified by our republics' governments. These questions have arisen and have been examined periodically since then, but they have not been resolved once and for all. This has served and does serve as a source of conflict between the farmers of Isfarinskiy Rayon and the neighboring Batkenskiy Rayon in the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

The current conflict arose from a decision made by Batkenskiy Rayon's state farm named for the 100th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth to assimilate new land and reconstruct an interrepublic canal passing through the territory of both our republics. Strictly speaking, a dispute over water arose—this time between the inhabitants of Oktyabr Village in Isfarinskiy Rayon and Samarkandyk Village, Batkenskiy Rayon. Since there is a water shortage during massive irrigations, the inhabitants of Oktyabr Village decided to give their neighbors water strictly in accordance with the norms laid down by the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. Hundreds of hectares of land were threatened by drought as a result.

Party and soviet organs in both rayons, oblasts, and republics have taken steps to normalize the situation. The reconstruction of the canal has now been halted and questions of normalization are being resolved on both farms. Problems in the villages' social development are being examined. As for the fight in Chorku Settlement, it has no bearing on this question. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against the culprits and the two neighboring rayon's internal affairs departments are investigating.

However, something else also needs to be underlined today: Any economic or even domestic question—if it is not resolved in a timely and mutually acceptable fashion in our multiethnic country—has a tendency to jump from the production sphere to the interethnic sphere. Unfortunately, there are still many people who are interested in reinforcing this trend and making a vicious circle of our shortcomings and blunders in the interethnic sphere.

All of us, not only party, soviet, and law-enforcement organs, need to combat this.

Gorbachev 30 May Report to Congress Published

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[Report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow on 30 May: "The Main Areas of the USSR's Domestic and Foreign Policy. Report By M.S. Gorbachev, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet"—the translation of the Moscow Television relay version of Gorbachev's report was published in the 31 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT Supplement on pages 47-62]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies, it has been declared from this rostrum more than once that universal attention is riveted on what is happening in this hall of the Kremlin. We will not calculate in which cases this reflects reality and corresponds with the real state of affairs, and in which cases we pass off what we desire as reality. Nevertheless, I believe that today we have every right, relying on what we know, to assert that the attention of all the Soviet people and all the world public is riveted on our congress.

Events are taking place in the Kremlin these days which signify that the political history of the Soviet Union is entering a new democratic stage, in the throes, in the struggle with the difficulties and complexities. Out of the contradictions and hard clashes a new Soviet parliament is coming into being, a new system of the state mechanism is being formed which in practice includes all citizens in the difficult labor of self-government. This is the view of our Czechoslovak friends, expressed in RUDE PRAVO.

Our congress is in its 5th day of work, and for the 5th day passions are boiling in this hall. I believe we are all agreed that the work of the congress is proceeding on the wavelength of the democratic renewal of life and of the deep revolutionary processes in society. There is scarcely any need today to offer proof that the congress itself and everything that preceded it, and the character of the debates that have begun, are a convincing victory for restructuring, and in essence a fresh page in the destiny of our state. Grasping truth by all of us together and by each of us is no easy process but, comrade deputies, it is a vital necessity for us. It is quite natural that in the frank examination of all our affairs and the impartial analysis of the causes of the situation that has formed and of the progress of the transformations which have begun, all of this is liberating society from the fetters of apathy and indifference, and is engendering a ferment of minds and clashes of stances and proposals.

However varied the opinions, the debates at the session are in keeping with the fundamental ideas put forward by the CPSU since April 1985—especially at the 19th party conference—and with the party's preelection program. I state this with immense satisfaction, since I see in this an expression of important popular support for the restructuring policy. Even in its first days our congress has clearly reflected the complex and contradictory processes under way in the country, and it could not have been otherwise. By the beginning of the 1980's, as a result of long years of stagnation, the country found itself in a state of serious crisis, which embraced all spheres of life. The situation demanded of the party a sharp turn. This was a most responsible choice, and the party made it. Today we can all see the correctness of this choice. The wave of renewal has woken up the country.

A process of assimilating new forms of public life has begun, comrades, in the economy, politics, and culture. The congress has once again demonstrated the profound understanding of the fact that restructuring is our destiny. It is a chance given us by history. It cannot and must not be missed. However varied and contradictory the opinions, a kind of nationwide accord has formed that there is no alternative to the political course of renewal, of fundamental renewal of socialism. All that is so. But today the country expects of the congress a truthful analysis of how restructuring is being implemented, what it has brought, where and why it has not yet justified the expectations, where difficulties and problems have arisen, and what they are. Most importantly, people are expecting specific decisions which provide for forward progress. That is why the talk that has begun at the congress, which has set the tone for the freedom and emancipation in its work, is so important. Difficult decisions await us all. We have all to bear responsibility for them before the Soviet people. But I am confident that the congress will display consideration and statesmanlike wisdom in assessing the situation and determining practical measures.

Of course, we must not expect instantaneous changes in all spheres of life. Right now we must urgently focus all our efforts to resolve striking problems as soon as possible. I regard this as one of the chief tasks of the congress, the Supreme Soviet, and the new government.

I.

The foundations of restructuring, and a decisive factor in achieving its goals, are the profound transformations in the economic and social spheres. The point of all work in this sphere is to turn the economy toward the people, and to create working and living conditions for Soviet people

that are worthy of our times. We are dealing first and foremost with such processes and matters as foodstuffs, housing, services, health care, environmental protection, and improving education, science, and culture. We have to understand the situation that has come about collectively, approaching the assessment of it from truthful, realistic and exacting positions. It is important to see the whole picture as it is in order to consolidate and give greater dynamism and stability to all the positive things that have been achieved, and at the same time rid oneself decisively of what was the result of errors made in policies and the practical work both in the center and in the localities.

I believe that we are entitled to talk about the actual process that has begun for the reorientation of the economy toward the social needs of the people. The average annual volume of housing construction in the last 3 years has been increased by 15 percent compared with the previous 5-Year Plan. This means that the Soviet people have received approximately 900,000 extra apartments. Last year R1.9 billion were allocated in credit for individual housing construction, which is six times higher than in 1985. Housing construction in the country is expanding.

Under difficult economic conditions R6 billion of additional funds were found in the 5-Year Plan for health care, and more than R6 billion for education. Teachers' pay has been increased, and the pay of doctors and other medical staff continues to rise. As a result of the measures taken, 39 percent more polyclinics, 37 percent more schools, 14 percent more children's preschool establishments, 20 percent more hospitals, and 54 percent more culture clubs and houses have been opened in an average year of this 5-Year Plan than in the previous one. As many residential homes for the aged and the disabled have been constructed as were constructed in the whole of the previous 5-Year Plan.

For the first time in our economic history the increase in the production of consumer goods is outstripping the development of industry as a whole for the 2d consecutive year. The services sector is expanding twice as fast as in previous years, by 15 pecent every year. In the last 3 years more than 5 million families have received land for gardening plots, collective gardens, and kitchen gardens.

Already in the first years of restructuring we were faced with the problem of increasing labor productivity through scientific and technological progress, since it is only on this basis that one can build realistic plans for the development of the economy and for improvement of people's life. For all the shortage of resources, in the 12th 5-year-plan period virtually twice as much capital investment was allocated for the development of priority sectors of machine building and electronics than in the previous 5 years. It was necessary to do this because we are a great deal behind in these spheres.

In our investment policy we emphasize tackling social issues. But we strive not to lose time for creating groundwork connected with enhancing the scientific and technological level of the national economy, so as to have resources available, in the future too, for the improvement of the people's life. We have not yet perceived any substantial return from these undertakings. My conversations with many people's deputies are constantly dwelling on the subject of the shortage of progressive machinery and equipment, something which is holding back the modernization of our national economy. Nevertheless, the pace of renewing the output of machine building has started to grow. The growth of labor productivity has been accelerated. A real reduction in the number of those engaged in the sphere of material production has started. This is also for the first time in the history of our economy.

Why am I talking about this? Not, you understand, in order to embellish the state of our affairs, or present them in rosy colors. This, simply, would not have been serious. I have in mind both those who are sitting in this hall and those millions of people who are following carefully the proceedings of our congress. This is necessary in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the process underway, to identify the sore points, the kind of knots of tension that have emerged on the path of the positive tendencies and processes that have arisen.

What is the matter? Why are we not yet aware even of those positive things that have been done? Above all because the country's financial system has become seriously upset and the consumer market uncoordinated. Shortages of all kinds and a panic for goods arouse among people acute and legitimate discontent and cause social tension in society. There are various causes for this. They include the difficult legacy of the past, the great losses brought about by the fall of world prices for fuel and raw materials, the Chernobyl tragedy, and natural disasters.

But it is also true that the economic situation is greatly connected with our own actions, and sometimes inaction, already during the years of restructuring. Let's start with the fact that the state continues living beyond its means. Budget expenditure is growing faster than national income during this 5-year-plan period. Hence the budget deficit is rising. Economically, this is simply impermissible, and cannot be considered other than a serious miscalculation in the economic policy, for which first and foremost the USSR Finance Minister and its apparatus bear responsibility. The backlog of incompleted work in the sphere of capital construction has not only failed to decrease, as had been envisaged in the decisions of the 27th congress, but has on the contrary considerably increased, by R30 billion. Both Gosplan and the USSR State Committee for Construction [Gosstroy] have failed to stand up to the pressure of departments and local bodies, while the government has failed

to show appropriate exactingness. Such a radical question in the economic reform as the creation of a mechanism for regulating and coordinating the end results of labor with the fund of payment for it has not been resolved—something without which it is impossible to advance in the economic sphere. Situations are arising in which expenditure on wages is growing much faster than labor productivity. We are all in favor of people earning good money, and of their wages growing steadily. But this must be bound up with the actual final results of their labor. Otherwise there will be too much money and too few goods—a difficult situation. This is indeed the case.

So, comrades, we have to get down straightaway to drawing up an economic mechanism for resolving this problem. The first few steps have been taken; initial proposals in this respect have been made. I am counting on a profound and competent discussion of these problems here at the congress.

No analysis of the causes of the existing situation would be complete unless it pointed out that great losses are still being incurred through mismanagement and poor labor discipline. This is also connected with the mastering of the new mechanism, of course, but this mastering, too, is occurring in different ways: some people have properly adopted financial-autonomy relations, which is already producing results, while others continue to live in the old way, or else are simply marking time. Here there is the question of the responsibility of cadres at all levels, of their degree of competence, of whether they meet today's requirements. All our shortcomings, mistakes, and misfortunes have come together in the one main problem of today: the imbalance of the market. It is this that is bringing to naught the positive shifts that have now begun in the economy and the social sphere, small though they may be as yet. This issue has assumed a political nature.

The most urgent task for today is to halt immediately the buildup of adverse phenomena and primarily to normalize the market situation. The most important thing here is a **rapid increase in the production of goods and services,** in order to ensure that goods stocks increase more rapidly than money incomes. There are, admittedly, other viewpoints: Some believe that this problem must be solved by switching on full the mechanisms of a market economy—let the market sort everything out. We do not share this approach, since it would immediately destroy the entire social situation and disrupt all the processes in the country.

For this year the task has been set of increasing goods production by more than R37 billion, and to substantially improve the situation next year scientists and specialists reckon that this increase will have to be raised to R55-60 billion. In accordance with this, a great deal of work has been under way in the industries and republics. Tremendous or, it could be said, exceptional efforts will be required from the center, the regions, and the labor collectives. But the work on this problem shows that we do possess real capabilities for doing this. Use must be made here not only of the resources, of the capabilities of light industry, food industry, and agriculture, but of all sectors of our economy, including heavy industry and defense enterprises. In a word, all the production capacities that can now be converted to produce the consumer goods required by the population must be used.

Many suggestions are being put forward from the localities on how to put existing reserves to work and saturate the market with goods. The newly constituted government with the republics' participation should complete this work, draw up a specific plan of action, and submit this plan to the USSR Supreme Soviet. As for the shortages of everyday goods, we ought, evidently, to hear a concrete reply from our government on this at the congress.

Of course, the most decisive measures must be taken to **improve finances and put money circulation in the country into order.** We shall not be able to manage here without making the necessary corrections to the country's entire economic activity, and without drawing up an exceptional [chrezvychaynyy] economy-drive budget. The congress could obviously give special instructions to the government on this matter.

Finally, one must not discount the possibilities of imports, both for developing the light and food industries, and for stocking up the market with consumer goods, subject to the provisos that have already been repeatedly mentioned.

Fulfillment of the decisions of the March Central Committee plenum on **issues relating to agrarian policy and the food problem** should be singled out as a task of prime importance, both because it is an urgent matter which demands nationwide efforts, and because the restructuring of economic relations in the countryside, and the transition to the new conditions of management, are proceeding, shall we say, with great difficulty, meeting with both a lack of complete understanding and, not infrequently, direct opposition. Let us once again discuss this issue, which is an issue of state importance, taking into account the political directives of the March plenum and the requirements of life.

We have all come to the conclusion that without a radical restructuring of economic relations in the countryside, things will not move ahead, and we will be unable to solve the food problem as we want to. No matter how much money we direct there, this will not have the required effect unless this fundamental issue is resolved. But if we are agreed on this, what is it all about, then? This agreement was indeed reached; it was established on the eve of the plenum and found reflection in the decisions of the plenum itself.

Over the past few days I have several times talked to deputies who work in the agrarian sector. A somewhat curious and contradictory picture emerges: When you talk to the managers and specialists of collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes], you hear that there must be more machinery and capital investment, and social amenities in the countryside must be provided more rapidly. That is indeed so, and we did indeed speak about this at the March plenum. With regard to the social development of the countryside, everything must be done to create normal conditions of life for the rural laborer. This must not only be done urgently. But I felt that some comrades among economists and specialists are not particularly disposed toward the transition to new forms of economic management, to setting up "cooperative" cooperatives, to leasing, to peasant farms. One even said to me: Whoever gave you the idea of bringing in leasing, Mikhail Sergeyevich?

But when you talk to lessees—there are also lessees present here, USSR people's deputies—they are of a different opinion. They are in favor of restructuring economic relations in the countryside, and have an interest in supporting the decisions of the March Central Committee plenum in this regard. At the same time, however, they say that despite these decisions, despite the decree on leasing and the corresponding government decisions, the new forms of management are being held up and are coming up against all sorts of bureaucratic impediments.

The leaseholders say that the local bodies continue to give orders to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, while the managers and specialists of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in turn do not want to give up the same command methods toward the peasants themselves and the employees of the sovkhozes. Many of them prefer to conduct matters in the old way. They prevent the expansion of financial autonomy relations in rural areas, referring to the unwillingness of peasants to lease land and the means of production. I have heard this here, taking part in one of the conversations with economic managers. Evidently differing interests are clashing here. We have to exchange views about this, comrades, and discuss bluntly what is necessary to ensure that the important decisions of the plenum do not hang in mid-air, and most importantly that the foodstuffs situation improves. Indeed the point of the political directives and the decisions of the Central Committee March plenum is to return man to the land through new forms of economic management, hand him the means of production, make him the master of the land, and thus awaken his personal interest and strengthen the material state in increasing agricultural produce.

Alongside this I want to stress the need to engage immediately in providing the countryside with social amenities and developing in rural areas the trade network, housing construction, public services, the whole infrastructure, and particularly roads. In all regions of the country rural inhabitants are pointedly raising the issue of the provision of gas supplies. As we have huge possibilities at our disposal, we do not have the right to dodge resolution of these matters either.

The USSR people's deputies representing the agrarian sector say that the ministries and departments producing equipment and fertilizers for rural areas are restructuring themselves very slowly. We must investigate this. On the one hand a lot of equipment is being produced in the country, and on the other there is an outcry all over that there is not enough. That means that the right equipment is not being produced. So let's finally make the necessary adjustments to our program so as to organize in the next few years the production of a system of machinery which is needed by the farms, the lease-holders, and the private subsidiary plots of all regions, and which is also affordable—a matter of no small importance. Agrarian sector representatives say that the machine builders have literally hiked up the prices on all equipment, despite the fact that it has changed little on a practical basis in terms of quality and output capabilities.

Comrades, it is also essential to confer on other social policy priorities for the upcoming period. The matter of **raising the standard of living of the less well-off** section of the population, pensioners, large families, orphans and the disabled, should be placed among those at the top of the list. This problem is of great sociopolitical significance in present-day conditions. Indeed, it involves more than 40 million people on low incomes. However difficult it may be to tackle it, given the present difficult financial situation, this must be done, and as soon as possible. Among the most important measures in this area is the introduction of the new law on pensions, a draft of which is being prepared by the government. It will be presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet and submitted for nationwide discussion. I assume that a law of such importance should then be adopted at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The **quality of medical care** affects the interests of everyone; a nation's health is a major condition for success in everything. Let us spare no effort, comrades, in ensuring that a network of hospitals and polyclinics equipped with modern machines is developed throughout the country, and that the problem of medical supplies to the population is solved once and for all.

Despite all the difficulties, we are finding, and I hope will find, resources for these purposes. But as regards the assimilation of these resources, the situation has so far been extremely unsatisfactory, though we are really only beginning to create a health care base, a modern health care base in the country. The fault here lies with the builders and, in my view, the local authorities. And one other point: Because of the radical economic reform, financial and material resources are accumulating in enterprises and in the local administrative bodies. It seems to me that labor collectives could unite their efforts to expand the health care base for the population. All these issues have to be strictly monitored by the

deputies. In establishing a healthy way of life, particular **attention must be paid to environmental protection** and, as they say nowadays, to ecological security. The state of affairs here is worrying, to say the least. In just over 100 of the country's cities the quantity of hazardous substances in the atmosphere exceeds the permissible norms; there is a severe situation regarding the protection of water resources, the rivers and forests, and the use of natural minerals. The problem of land preservation, even of irrigated land, is acute everywhere. Immediate action must be taken.

As I see things, there are two paths we should take; first, we need a clear-cut program for resolving the problems that have already accumulated; this concerns industry, agriculture, water resources—in short, the entire habitable environment. It seems to me that the drawing up of a national program for this is being dragged out. At this congress we must express definite, quite definite, demands that this work be speeded up. Furthermore, it is important that the resources allocated for this be fully assimilated. We have been saying that many problems have accumulated and that they must be tackled without delay, just like the issues of housing, food, and goods. This is correct, because unless we begin working on the habitable environment now, a disaster awaits us. It's already on the threshold; we have already come face to face with it, so to speak. But just take a look: We are saying that we allocate too few resources, though they are actually increasing each year. But comrades, the resources allocated for environmental protection purposes are only half used. So, comrades, let us not only raise these issues by way of criticism but get down to concrete work, tackle them in practice. On the whole, we neeed to be more businesslike and exacting, I would say—exacting.

The second, and no less important, direction is that we have to arrange things so that all schemes and scientific-technical solutions ensure ecological security. And for this they must be strictly tested for ecological purity. We are coninuing to push through unsuitable plans from the viewpoint of ecological security to reduce the cost of various projects. For example, I was speaking to a deputy from Komsomolsk-na-Amur, which I once visited, where the working people are very concerned that they have to import furniture from the center. They reached an agreement with the minister—Comrade Belousov was the minister at the time—and he said that it is possible to produce R20 milion worth of furniture there. It was a good idea and they began to put it into effect. They bought the equipment from abroad but they didn't buy the pollution control devices. What kind of a saving is that? Who needs it? And now there are rallies in Komsomolsk-na-Amur because of it.

I repeat that, overall, all projects must undergo strict monitoring for ecological cleanliness. As you know, during the election campaign there was acute discussion of the issues of constructing a number of canals, atomic power stations, and chemical enterprises from the viewpoint of ecological safety. The Congress Presidium is now, too, receiving such notes. Obviously, the USSR Supreme Soviet and its relevant commissions will immediately have to accept these issues for most careful consideration and solution. In doing so, it must pay attention to both ecological requirements and the interests of the further development of the eocnomy, without which it is impossible to satisfy the vital needs of the people.

In connection with the examination of social questions, I would like to express confidence that the congress will endorse the political directive of the 27th party congress **aimed at resolving the housing problem** to provide every family with an individual apartment or house by the year 2000. It is a task that is very, very far from easy. But it has to be addressed, comrades. I am convinced, and have become even more convinced, of the rightness of such a formulation, of the solid grounds for such a formulation, during my meetings with working people in all regions of the country. I will tell you bluntly: During my conversations, the main, the first question that the working people raise is the housing question, not even the food supply question, not even the question of goods.

But taking account of the acuteness of this problem for millions of people in towns and rural areas, we clearly have to reassess the plans already outlined and find new possibilities for expanding the scale of housing construction. We have given instructions to study the situation and determine our position: What is required to definitely reach a solution to this problem, so that, having taken on such a commitment to the people, we should not end up bankrupt? I should remind you: In the 11th 5-year Plan period, 550 million square meters of housing were built. In the 12th 5-year Plan period the task has been set to bring housing construction up to 650 million square meters. We will meet this task; that is already clear. For the 13th 5-year Plan period the task is being put forward in the preliminary drafts to bring the volume of housing construction up to 820 million square meters, but it is now clear by all accounts that we shall need to reach 900 million, and then, to reach 1 billion square meters in the 14th 5-year Plan period. Then we can speak of the reality of fulfilling the set task.

Of course, all reserves have to be brought in for this, all the possibilities of enterprises and of individual and cooperative housing construction. There is no shortage of initiative. People want to build housing. But what is it that is holding up things today? It is, of course, the shortage of building materials, plumbing fixtures, and everything that is essential for fitting out housing with facilities. Complaints come in from all sides on this score, and it is not only a matter of measures which have to be taken at the center, although they must unfailingly be reflected in our plans. We must all together bring our weight to bear on resolving the task of housing construction, using all local reserves. I would say that this is one of the most important acts of republican and local organs

of power, and of their economic organizations. I hope that in the course of the debates we shall deepen the discussion of this theme, and that the congress will give special instructions to the Supreme Soviet and to the new government.

Comrades, social policy cannot be effective if it does not respond to the interests of different strata, social strata, of society. Our society has a vital interest in **ensuring better starting conditions for the new generations** entering independent life, so that they have everything necessary to reveal their creative abilities, to display the energy of youth, and to take an active part in affairs of state. A considerable number of problems have accumulated here. As you know, the Komsomol Central Committee has prepared a draft law on young people and has submitted it for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet as a legislative initiative. However, matters cannot, of course, be reduced to the adoption of one law, even the best one. It is necessary that attention everywhere be focused on the problems of training the young generation and of creating the necessary social and other preconditions for it to be involved in life at large in a normal manner. A large amount of constant work is required in this area, and we await a constructive contribution both from the young deputies and, of course, from all people's deputies in the dicussion of questions of social policy with regard to the country's young people.

We are obliged to urgently set about solving the numerous **acute problems faced by women.** Here, too, an integrated system of measures is needed, including maternity care, protection of women's work and health, and the easing of domestic work and everyday life. In the election campaign a very great deal was said on this count by voters, and these issues were widely included in the programs of virtually all people's deputies. These questions must be examined in the most careful manner and in detail, taking our potential into account, of course. These are all major issues. We will probably be unable to get by without a comprehensive approach to them, without confining ourselves to details. The Supreme Soviet should evidently have permanent commissions which would be solidly engaged in working through all these issues, or it could be a committee. It is worth having consultations on this. In general, the kinds of structures must be created which would prepare serious proposals for the Supreme Soviet and the congress.

It is our moral duty and obligation **to take constant care of veterans of war and labor**, those who defended our motherland's independence in the Great Patriotic War, who raised the country's economy and strengthened its industrial might in difficult years, and to whom we all owe all that we have. Among the people's deputies there are our older comrades who know the veterans' aspirations and needs better than the rest. We must listen to their voice and provide just solutions for the issues which life is raising today.

Here I would also like to say this, comrades: There are many simple everyday issues which must be resolved by local bodies, and especially by republican bodies, without any procrastination or waiting for instructions from above, and all the more so without directives from the Congress of People's Deputies. In addition, there are relevant decisions by government bodies on this count, decisions which make it an obligation to take care of veterans of war and labor, and to solve their vital problems as a matter of primacy.

Nor can I fail to mention that the invalids and all the participants in the Afghan war are in need in an aspect which is of the greatest sensitivity to them.

In tackling the problems of the country's socioeconomic development we must proceed **from the consistent implementation of the principle of social justice.** It isn't enough to proclaim it. We must also bring into effect the socioeconomic machinery which will make it possible to remove the main brake on our development, unwarranted leveling down, and the psychology of parasitism, which have become deeply rooted. I have already had occasion at the congress to refer in passing to the problems of **social advantages and privileges**. To what I have said I will add the following:

The system of advantages has taken shape over many decades, whether it is a matter of differentiations in pension or leave, health care or housing, or the material and cultural provision of various social, age or professional groups of the population, and of territories as well as various departments. Evidently, these issues must be approached in such a way that, on the one hand, talent and highly productive labor are stimulated, and, on the other hand, help is given to those groups in the population in need of it. Of course, any distortions and especially abuses in this sphere must be decisively ruled out.

Hence I propose that a special commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet be instructed to carry out a sort of "revision" on the basis of these criteria of all benefits and privileges, and to submit appropriate proposals. (applause)

My first attempts to understand how it emerged and what this system represents have encountered the need for this problem to be thoroughly discussed. We can see, comrade deputies, how many problems have accumulated in the social sphere. Requests and wishes from everywhere can be heard about meeting various needs. But of course one has to measure all this against our real possibilities.

What should one think about here? First and foremost, about **redistribution of the existing resources in the interests of tackling the most vital problems**. A great deal of resources can be released through improving the state of affairs in the country's investment complex and through **sharply reducing the volume of capital investments in the sphere of production construction**. Various

figure are mentioned for this reduction, from very moderate to those running into tens of percent. Incidentally, the first steps have been taken in this direction. I consider it desirable that the newly formed government should submit its proposals on this score to the USSR Supreme Soviet. They could be studied thoroughly by the commissions, involving specialists, practical workers, and scientists, and on this basis appropriate corrections could be introduced to the program for capital construction.

We will have to adopt difficult but necessary decisions, concentrating on some points and giving up others. But even now I would express the following judgment: We must adhere to the rule most rigidly so that the volume of capital construction can correspond to the capacities, material, and labor resources available. Only in this case will we be able to do away with the construction fever, and to overcome the diktat and irresponsibility of construction departments and organizations.

Another source of resources for implementing social programs is the **reduction of military spending**, ensuring the conversion connected with the utilization of the powerful potential of defense sectors for civilian purposes. For our people who have experienced the severe war, reliable defense has been and remains a question of life and of vital importance, just as our Soviet Army has been and remains an object of special concern. But in the modern world the possibilities are increasing for security to be safeguarded by political and diplomatic means. This enables miliary spending to be cut on the basis of giving a new quality to the USSR Armed Forces without any detriment to the country's defense capability. In 1987-88 military spending was frozen; this made a savings in the budget, in comparison with the 5-year plan, of R10 billion. In 1989 military spending amounts to R77.3 billion. Here I am announcing to the congress this real figure for military spending: R77.3 billion. There is a proposal being made to reduce military spending as early as 1990-91 by another R10 billion, that is by 14 percent; and for the Supreme Soviet to tackle further work on this entire complicated complex, taking account both of internal problems and requirements, and the tasks of ensuring the country's reliable defense capability. (Applause)

Expenditure on the space program has already been partially cut. This is not so great, either. You will be able to familiarize yourselves with it later, worked out specifically. We must seek more possibilities in this direction. But at the same time we must bear in mind and take into consideration that we obtain unique technology from the latest space developments. It is sufficient to say that the lastest developments made during the Buran project alone could have significant benefit—worth billions of rubles—if they are passed on to the national economy and for export. Two volumes of proposals were presented at the Defense Council on this score and they are geared toward dozens of economic enterprises and organizations. Only if that case will be be able to end.... I'm sorry. One must bear in mind that only if that happens will the money we spend to master space will be justified.

Immense possibilities lie in using in the civilian sector the unique technology developed at the defense ministry enterprises. Conditions have been created today to put an end to the irrational secrecy, finishing up with the so-called internal COCOM [Coordinating Committee on Export Controls of NATO].

Quite a few possibilities for redistributing resources for social benefit lie in **cuts in administrative spending**. The new conditions of economic management make it possible to radically restructure the administrative system. This also needs to be studied thoroughly by the Supreme Soviet. This is why in the past few years there have been important changes in the upper level of administration, and new ones are planned that will be reported by the government. As for the local administrative structures, especially at the level of associations and enterprises, to date the number of administrative staff there has not only not been cut, but has even increased. That is, the granting of economic independence is being accompanied by growth in the number of staff. And every sixth person working is a manager, a specialist. That means it is to someone's advantage. We are spending around R40 billion a year to maintain the administrative apparatus and, what is more, R2.5 billion to maintain bodies of state administration, and the rest on associations' and enterprises' management apparatus. Here, too, we must clear up this problem.

Other possibilities exist for the reallocation of national economic resources in the interests of solving social problems. The people's deputies will probably supplement this part, like other ideas in the report, during their discussion. All these reserves must be used. But primarily, comrades, we must raise production efficiency and the quality of output, and improve the use of all production factors on the basis of radical national economic reconstruction.

We must realize quite clearly that we can solve the immediate social problems and lay the groundwork for the future only by means of accelerating scientific and technical progress, by ensuring the development of fundamental science at an outstripping rate, and ensuring the development and application of state-of-the-art technologies. Something else must be made clear: To drag the economy out of the quagmire is impossible without radical economic reform, without the changeover of all ecoomic links to complete financial autonomy and self-financing, and without the extensive development of leasing and cooperatives. We must arrive at a new economic model via reform.

Fierce discussions—let's not beat around the bush—are now being held in society about the economic reform, about what it has given us, about the problems that have

occurred during is implementation. Bearing this in mind, the course of the reforms has been analyzed quite thoroughly in the Central Committee. There have been quite a few meetings on this question with scientists and economists, managers and specialists, and representatives of production collectives. The general conclusion is this: The strategic idea of the reform and its basic directions have been correctly determined. But a lot of inconsistencies, indecisiveness, half-baked measures, zig-zags, and even deviations are being allowed to occur at all levels in the practical implementation of the reform. The main thing is that we are only very slowly, and much later than we should, solving the question of how to work out the economic mechanisms and put them into operation. In other words, we are falling behind in creating an economic medium under the conditions of which alone the reform can gain strength, expand, and produce the awaited results. In essence it is here, in the absence of such economic mechanisms, that the further advance of the reform is being held up. In this situation differing opinions have surfaced about the fate of the reform. You can hear the opinion that **many of our economic troubles are born from the new economic management methods**, that it is wrong to rush with reform. We cannot agree with this. The Central Committee and the government consider that the main line to national economic development is the consistent development of economic reform.

In this area we consider it necessary to readjust our economic policy and practical activities. Experience shows that reform cannot be carried out as a unique act. It is a complex business to transfer the economy from one mode of operation to another. To weather it more successfully, it is essential to speed up the devising and implementing of a series of interlinked steps aimed at consistent changes in planning methods, financial levers, prices, taxation, wages conditions, and all the other links in the economic mechanism. And a lot of this must be done even before the 13th 5-year plan comes into effect.

Another thing, comrades: Life has convincingly shown that economic reform is simply impossible without a radical renewal of socialist ownership and the development and combination of its various forms. We advocate the creation of flexible and efficient relations for the use of public property so each form of ownership can prove its vitality and right to existence in living competition, in a fair contest. The only condition that must be set is the prevention of exploitation or the alienation of workers from the means of production.

Another crucial area of the economic reform is also inseparably linked to this ownership approach—the evolution of a full-blooded socialist market. It goes without saying that the market is not omnipotent, but mankind has not devised any more efficient or democratic mechanism of management. The socialist planned economy cannot do without it, comrades, and this has to be acknowledged. We believe that as the reform intensifies, a system of economic relations will take shape that could be described as a law governed economy [pravovaya ekonomika].

It will be founded not on administrative commands or orders but on relations regulated by law. There will be a clear-cut division between state direction of the economy and economic management. Enterprises, concerns, joint stock societies, and cooperatives should become the main economic forces. To tackle common tasks and to coordinate their efforts, they will, I guess, move to set up, on a voluntary basis, combines, unions, and associations to which the economic management functions currently performed by the ministries will pass. Both our experience and worldwide economic development trends convince us that this is the right approach.

This approach does not mean belittling the role of the state, as long as one doesn't confuse it with the ministries, of course, or economic management with state direction. The latter is shedding the functions of direct intervention in the day-to-day running of economic units and concentrating on creating overall normative frameworks and the conditions for their operation. Its natural spheres will remain the key areas of scientific and technical progress; the infrastructure; environmental protection; the monitoring of social security provisions for people; and the financial system, including its tax instruments and economic legislation, which will involve, among other things, legislation against monopolization and its adverse social consequences. By adopting the law on the state enterprise association and the law on cooperatives we have taken an important—but only the first—step toward such an economy. These laws need to be refined. Great debates are under way in society in this respect. Very many critical observations are being made about the unequal conditions in which enterprises belonging to different economic sectors operate.

In this connection, scientists, economists, the broadest strata of the working people—and I heard the same thing in my conversations with deputies—are also increasingly and insistently asking about drawing up unified economic and legal bases for the activities of all enterprises. This question seems to me to be of immense importance and to deserve a great deal of attention from the congress.

As you can see, comrades, the problems of further developing and deepening the reform will occupy a determining place in our subsequent activities. There must obviously be the appropriate structures and mechanisms in the Supreme Soviet. There are serious grounds, too, for setting up in the government a special coordinating organ on the reform, headed by one of the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

II.

Comrade deputies, we have every justification for stating—as has already been said here—that the most major achievement of restructuring is the **democratizaztion of**

the state and public life in the country that has widely unfolded. The last elections of USSR people's deputies, the work of our congress, and the atmosphere in which it is taking place are convincing confirmations of this. At the very start, we must put the matter like this: Any plans for radical renewal of society are doomed to fail unless all strata of society and the entire people are involved in these processes, which are revolutionary in content. This was placed at the basis of all our decisions, starting from the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum, and received widespread substantiation in the decisions of the party conference, which recognized as one of the strategic orientations of restructuring the implementation of radical political reform and the construction of a socialist law governed state.

Now we can move further, making use of the great potential opened up by the realization of the tasks of the first stage of the reform —I mean the convening of the current congress and the formation of new supreme organs of power. The specific work program will be determined after discussion of the entire range of these issues here at the congress, at the sessions of the Supreme Soviet and its chambers, and in the new formed committees and commissions. I will permit myself, therefore, to dwell only on some matters that seem to me to be of fundamental significance for the further democratization of our society.

First and foremost, there is the **implementation of the historical slogan we have put forward anew: Power to the Soviets!** The reconstruction of representative organs and the expansion by every possible means of their rights and powers in accordance the constitution and the unfailing subordination of the apparatus to them—these are the first conditions for restoring to the soviets the real levers of power and administraton. Many people have already advocated this, and we must state this in the closing documents of our congress.

Another condition is the **clear-cut delineation of the party and state bodies' functions.** The party has roundly condemned the situation in which its organizations have usurped the functions of local soviet bodies, and have, in effect, performed the functions of direct management of the economy, and indeed of all other spheres of life as well. By assuming tasks that do not belong to them, party committees have lost the ability to critically assess society's development, and to play the role of society's vanguard force. By acting as the initiator and the main engine of the restructuring, today the Communist Party is the guarantor of this revolutionary process and its protector against the half-formed intentions of conservative and ultra left-wing elements. It is the party which can perform the role of an integrating force, without which the cause of renewing socialism cannot succeed. (Applause)

On deeply democratic foundations the restructuring is changing the party's role and its interaction with state and public organizations. The main task for the party today is to articulate and harmonize the interests of the basic social groups, strata of the population and all people, and to ensure consolidation of the activities of all links in society's political system. The party offers dialogue and cooperation with all public organizations and movements, and invites them to joint action in restructuring and renewing society.

The central question of the second stage of political reform is the **creation of a new structure for the bodies of power and administration in the republics, krays, oblasts, towns and rayons.** This requires above all that the necessary adjustments be made to the electoral system, with due consideration being given to the results and lessons of the election campaign that has taken place. We must commence this work without delay since, as far as I understand it, all the people's deputies who spoke here were in favor of it. As a result, we must get an electoral law that incorporates all the best elements ensured by the democratic nature of the recent elections, and, of course, eliminates the shortcomings that came to light.

Another no less important matter is that the new representative bodies must acquire not just full-blooded judicial powers, but also real levers of power. And to that end it is necessary for the Supreme Soviet immediately to set about preparing laws on republican financial autonomy and self-financing, self-administration and the local economy. The work of the commissions of the chambers evidently must be organized in such a way that these important documents are prepared for discussion and adoption by the second Congress of People's Deputies. Fundamental questions are involved concerning the structure of the federative state, the rights and possibilities of local soviets and the extension of self-administrative principles in all our political system. I'll say bluntly that the slogan "All power to the Soviets" without drawing up and adopting these laws will be left hanging in the air and will just remain a slogan, an appeal. (Applause)

Obviously at the present congress too, the people's deputies will have something to say on this score. It will be a valuable contribution to the subsequent work on these documents. In the context of such an approach we must resolve the question of the timing of the elections to the republican and local soviets. As you will remember, we intended to have them this fall. At least that is the premise we were working on at the 19th party congress when discussing questions concerning the upcoming political reform. But evidently we did not consider everything, nor could we forsee everything. The real processes of political reform are resulting in a situation where the creation of all the legal prerequisites for the holding of the elections and their thorough preparation demand much more work. This has to be started even now, but it is obvious that it will only be in the fall, at the second congress, that we will be able to adopt these laws relating to republican and local soviets.

I must say that the party and local soviet bodies are receiving proposals that the next elections be held within the deadline laid down by the constitution, that is next spring when the powers of the present soviets expire.

Both the first stage of the political reform and all that remains to be done in its subsequent stages constitutes progress along the road of **creating a socialist law-governed state**. But it goes without saying that these are not the only tasks connected with its construction. This task is considerably more sweeping and embraces the broad sphere of democratic regulation of society's affairs. Preeminence is being acquired here by the legal protection of the individual, and the guaranteeing of all the conditions for citizens to exercise all rights and, naturally, fulfill all their duties to the state. The main criterion to be used in measuring all our steps in constructing a law-governed state and their efficiency, is the benefit they bring for Soviet people.

We know how pointedly the question of the citizen's dignity and his legal protection was raised by the voters during the election. To a large extent this is the result of past political practice, which proceeded from the preeminence of the state interest's over people's interest's. Zeal for state interests frequently served as a justification for instances of arbitrary rule, infringements of citizens' constitutional rights and bureaucratic behavior toward them. We decisively reject that approach as one that is incompatible with general-democratic and socialist values and ideals. The common weal cannot be built on injustice comitted even against one person. (Applause)

Every citizen bears responsibility for his actions to society, but also society and the state bear responsibility to the citizens for the observance of his legitimate rights and the inviolability of the individual and property. (Applause) These are all general principles, comrades. To ensure that they genuinely begin to work and become part of our social practice it will be necessary to adopt a whole series of laws. Some of them are already being drawn up and in the near future can be submitted for discussion by the Supreme Soviet commissions. These are the drafts laws on freedom of worship, the press, public organizations, young people, and a number of others. We have to bring them in line with the times, the new concepts and tasks of criminal, as well as civil, labor and family legislation. In other words, a renewed society should rely on renewed legislation.

The need to renew our legislation on the matters of human rights is also determined by the fact that the Soviet Union has become a participant in the Vienna agreements. The legal norms in operation in our country should conform with international pacts. In a word, the Supreme Soviet and then the congress will have to do a lot of thorough work in order to give a firm legal underpinning to all spheres of social life. I do not know if the person counted them correctly, but yesterday the figure of 50 was cited for the number of laws that we have to draw up. This concerns not only the position of the individual, civil relations, but also the activities of the very bodies of authority and management, of the economy and public order, and so forth.

I want to express my positive attitude, comrades, toward the view of the deputies who are raising the issue of submitting the most important laws to referenda, alongside the nationwide discussion of laws which has become the usual practice in our country. [Applause] Judicial and legal reform is a very important stage on the path toward creating a socialist law-based state. As you know, last fall when additions were made to the constitution, it included provisions on the election of people's judges by higher soviets of people's deputies. This major condition for the independence of the courts was a nationwide demand, by the way.

But in this sphere many more important problems still have to be resolved, and primarily the standards of the cadres, called upon to administer the law, have to be enhanced, the strictest possible rule has to be guaranteed and public order protected. It is necessary to draw up and implement a broad program for extending legal education in our country, take care of the material base of judicial investigation bodies and the material situation of staff in this sphere. Optimal solutions have to be found many isues which are being raised now in connection with judicial reform. They have also been noted at this session of our congress. I mean the possibility of introducing courts with juries, the procedures for investigations and supervision of them, and so forth. All this has to be discussed. [Applause]

All the great amount of work on the judicial reform is, of course, needed not just for the sake of it, but in the interests of strengthening law and order in our country. This task has become particularly topical because of the increase in the number of crimes, including such dangerous ones as corruption, the mafia, extortion, and bribe-taking. A topical problem is the combatting of hooliganism which undermines the normal conditions for people's lives, work, and relaxation. I believe that the deputies will agree that we have to strengthen and support the law enforcement bodies but also demand from them effective measures to eradicate crime.

Democracy can exist only if everyone—the state, public organizations, every collective, and every citizen—exercises clearly their rights and obligations. This is an axiom. I cannot help saying a few words about that which is at present an object of growing concern among our people. I have in mind the attempts by individuals and groups to attain their personal or group aims by way of organizing mass disturbances and provoking acts of violence. Such things cannot be tolerated in a law governed state. (Applause)

Lawful aims can and must be attained by lawful means, whereas unlawful ones must be stopped. If we are unable to protect democracy and glasnost, this could affect on the fate of the country and the people in the most

dramatic way. In a word, it is necessary for all unlawful actions to be opposed not only by rational arguments, appeals to conscience, and public opinion—which must be, of course, in the forefront—but also the force of the law. This is the only way in which a democratic society can live and develop. (Prolonged applause)

Nor can our congress fail to consider or to deal with a matter about which society is becoming seriously concerned. I have in mind the current state of discipline and order. Putting it bluntly, it fails to satisfy us. It requires a resolute change for the better. A lack of discipline and poor fulfillment of official duties means that we suffer great losses, both economic and moral, and above all in the sphere of labor. This affects extremely negatively our whole society. Irresponsibility and disorder have a disorganizing effect on people's everyday life, introduce unnecessary tension to it, and to put it plainly, drive people out of their minds, and arouse their discontent.

At the same time, it has become shameful for some reason to raise the question of discipline in society and to demand order. Some people discern in these very timid attempts almost the undermining of democracy and the aspiration to restore a system of command and a slave mentality in people. Of course, for some people the talk about discipline is nothing more than nostalgia for the old days. This probably exists, comrades. It is beyond doubt. They talk about discipline while thinking about a strong hand and about getting back to a system where a command is to be obeyed without question. This probably exists. But comrades, different things are important now. We can all sense the effects brought about by a lack of discipline. Therefore we must take a firm position at our congress. Without discipline and order the cause of restructuring will not advance. (Applause)

Democratization needs an enhancement of discipline on the basis of a growth in the level of peoples' social activity. We must counter any lack of order with a high level of responsibility for the work that has been entrusted to us and not be afraid to be more exacting over discipline and order.

III.

Comrades, the very first days of the congress proceedings showed again the acute nature of the nationalities question and the complexity of relations between nationalities. Multi-ethnicity is indeed a unique quality of our state and society. On the one hand, it is a source of its strength. On the other, given the smallest distortions of the nationalities policy, it could also become a cause of weakening the state and of social instability, with unpredictably grave consequences.

The times emphasize the correctness of the **nationalities policy** elaborated by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The results it has brought to all of our peoples cannot be overestimated. A huge amout of work has been done to overcome national oppression and inequality, to raise the economy, and to develop the culture of all nations inhabiting the country. Interest has been shown throughout the world in our experience, and this must under no circumstances be forgotten. But in the 1930's Lenin's nationalities policy was subjected to the most gross distortions and deformations, practically all peoples felt their effect. An oversimplified understanding of the multifaceted nature of relations between nationalities, encouragement of unitarian tendencies, a denial of the specifics of national development, political accusations against whole nations with the subsequent arbitrariness and lawlessness, an intolerable identification of people's national feelings with nationalist manifestations—we have had all of this in our lives. Here, as they say, you can neither add anything nor take anything away.

We inherited a very difficult legacy. Moreover, in the times of stagnation the negative processes in relations between nationalities were either ignored or driven below the surface, and this meant that they were increasingly exacerbated. Sooner or later they were bound to come to the surface. Democratization and glasnost enabled the whole truth to be told and a start to be made toward rectifying the distortions that had been committed and eliminating injustices. But it must be admitted that at the beginning of restructuring we far from fully appreciated the necessity of renewing the nationalities policy. There was also probably a delay in resolving a number of urgent matters. In the meantime, natural dissatisfaction with economic and social problems that had piled up began to be interpreted as an encroachment on ethnic interests.

Speculating on these general difficulties, certain elements strove to make the situation even more complicated. This led to excesses in a number of republics, and produced the tragic consequences, entailing loss of life, that everyone knows about. Allow me from this tribune, the tribune of our first Congress of People's Deputies, to express our common sorrow and pain in connection with the death of innocent people. This must not recur.

It is clear that we are obliged to radically improve national relations. To free them from everything that contradicts our morality, our ideology and the humanitarian principles of socialism. Speaking of the renewal of the nationality policy, we have in mind the necessity of aligning it with today's realities. The demography has changed, the economy has changed, and so have the demography, the social and national structure of all the republics. National self-awareness has increased, new spiritual needs have surfaced. Many facets of internationality relations face us today in a new light.

It can now be said that a political mechanism is being created in order to ensure a rational and just approach to the questions of internationality relations, and the establishment of such relations as will accord with the interests of each Soviet nation and with the general people's

interests. I am thinking both of the already published draft laws on this question, and of the great preparatory work of the Central Committee plenum which was specially devoted to it.

What is particularly important is the future work of the Supreme Soviet and its commissions in whose framework the nationality problems must find an all round and all embracing solution. The principle of national self-determination set out by Lenin was, and still is, one of the main elements of the nationalities policy of the Communist Party. It was the foundation of socialist statehood during the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. And arguments of a historical nature, and economic calculations, and political awareness, and simply common sense and the experience of the peoples, speak of the vital necessity for the development of all the Soviet nations in the framework of a federative union state. Restructuring is the most weighty argument in favor of this, for it creates the conditions to correct any mistakes and deformations committed in the past, to genuinely harmonize relations between nationalities, and allows for the normal national feeling of every person wherever he was born, lives or works.

But now we should give the federative state system real political and economic content so that this form entirely satisfies the requirements and aspirations of the nations and meets the realities of modern times. On the whole, we see the focal points of the nationalities policy of restructuring as follows: **In the political sphere**, it is the substantial extension of the rights of union and autonomous republics and of other national formations; the transfer to the localities of an increasing circle of administrative functions; the strengthening of the independence and accountability of republican and local organs. In a federative state things relating to the competence of the union and things which are the sovereign right of the republic's autonomy must be clearly defined. It is essential to work out a legal machinery to resolve clashes which might arise in their mutual relations.

In the economic sphere it is essential to harmonize relations between the union and the republics on the basis of the intrinsic fusion of their economic independence and their active participation in the nationwide division of labor. It is from this angle that the control of the country's unified national economic complex should be restructured, by organically incorporating the switch made by republics, regions, krays and oblasts to self-management and self-financing in the general process of the renewal of the Soviet economy.

It is fundamentally important that the new approach to developing the republic's economies and local self-management should not lead to autarky, which looks like an anachronism in the contemporary world, but that it should contribute to the deepening of cooperation, which corresponds to the interests of every republic and the whole country.

Demographic and ecological problems are closely affiliated to economic problems. Here, too, it is necessary to skillfully combine all-union and republican regional interests. **In the spiritual sphere** we proceed from the recognition of the diversity of national cultures as a very great social and historical valuable, and a unique possession of our entire union. We have no right to undervalue or, worse still, lose a single one of them, because each one is unique. We are in favor of the free and comprehensive development of every people, national language and culture, and in favor of equal and friendly relations between all nations and ethnic and national groups.

The Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet will have to resolve a considerable number of very complex issues in the sphere of interethnic relations. Let me express my certainty that their in-depth work will allow us to enrich Leninist national policy in application to today's realities of the Soviet multinational state and thus to create the most reliable political basis for further development, confident development of the country.

IV.

Comrades, restructuring in the Soviet Union could not help being reflected in all our **international activity**, but it could not be implemented if the previous foreign policy were maintained.

The fundamental change in the foreign policy course is connected with the new political thinking that was gradually developed with the liberation from dogmatic ideas and from conclusions which were only correct in their own time and which had ceased to correspond to the realities of our days. New thinking is a dynamic concept which is continuing to develop and deepen, but its main starting point remains the conclusion of the 27th CPSU Congress about the lethal danger which nuclear weapons and the arms race present to mankind's existence, about the integrity and interdependence of the modern world, about the change in the nature of its contradictions, and about the substance of world progress.

At the basis of the new thinking lies a recognition of the priority of human interests and values, of generally accepted norms of morality as the obligatory criterion of all policy, freedom of sociopolitical choice which rules out interference in the affairs of any state and the need for de-ideologization of relations between states. Despite the profound differences between social systems, objective possibilities have appeared in each of them for moving on to a fundmentally new, peaceful period in the history of mankind.

In the reality around us there are any number of cases that do not, it appears, follow the direction taken by the new thinking. There are the forces of the past and contradictions inherited from the past. Thus we cannot renounce our army and say a farewell to arms. The same

can be said of military alliances, the preservation of which depends not on us alone. But however necessary the old forms and means may still be, we must not allow them to block the new approaches to the construction of international relations. Therein lies the wisdom of all high politics, and therein lies the qualitative difference of foreign policy in the period of restructuring.

We can now defend it by drawing on real results. Much has already become habitual and seems normal, but where would we be if everything had remained as before? The fever of international tension has abated. There is no direct threat of nuclear war. People of different countries have, as it were, looked each other in the face and realized how absurd enmity is. The reduction of nuclear arsenals has started. The Europeans have embarked on the lowering of the most dangerous military confrontation in the world. We have pulled our troops out of Afghanistan, and have started to withdraw them from the allied countries. The country has opened up to the outside world to take a fitting place in the international division of labor and enjoy its advantages. The restrictions and prejudices hampering our effective involvement in the tackling of global problems and scientific and cultural exchange have been removed.

Our foreign policy is turned to the whole world, but each instance naturally has its specifics and its special and important accents, both in a bilateral context and from the viewpoint of regional and international significance. This concerns the socialist countries in the first place. Mutual relations with them reflect a very crucial stage in the development of the socialist world. We sensed this in full measure during our visit to our great neighbor, the People's Republic of China, the normalization of relations with which was an event of worldwide importance. (Applause)

There are and there can be difficulties in the formation of a new type of relations between socialist countries. They lie in the objective realities of the difficult and contradictory processes occurring in different countries. But these difficulties can be overcome. The main condition here is mutual respect, noninterference in one another's affairs, friendly mutual understanding, profound interest in the experience of each other, the need for cooperation and the readiness for joint patient work. We have all this right now.

A major area of our foreign policy work is participation in the building of a "common European home." The fundamental ideas are well known. They have come into use in public opinion and negotiating practice. The foundations for healthy relations in the spirit of restructuring with all states participating in the Helsinki proces have been laid and are gaining momentum. We will steadfastly continue the Vladivostok line in the Asian-Pacific region. The diversity of the tasks here is even greater. Both the "agenda" and an amicable, constructive and respectful tone of relations have been determined with many countries. Here as everywhere we will continue to devote special attention to relations with countries. First and foremost this means the great India.

We all understand that Soviet-U.S. relations are of primary importance for world policy. We are ready to interact with the United States on a predictable and stable basis. We are ready to move forward combining continuity with fresh ideas.

We have discovered over these years extraordinary opportunities for closer and more productive ties with Latin America and Africa. Here too there are both common problems and specific features relating to individual states. Strengthening good neighborliness with all neighboring states remains of paramount concern to us.

The Congress of People's Deputies is to consider and legislatively approve the **principles of our foreign policy course for the years ahead**. I believe that the following should be involved:

The country's security should be maintained above all by political means as an integral part of universal and equal security, in the process of demilitarization, democratization and humanization of international relations, with reliance on the prestige and possibilities of the United Nations. Nuclear weapons should be eliminated in the course of a negotiation process geared to disarmament and the reduction of the defense potential of states to the limits of reasonable sufficiency. (Applause)

The use of force and the threat of force for the purposes of attaining any kind of political, economic or other goals are impermissible. In relations with other countries, respect for sovereignty, independence, and territorial intregrity is immutable. Dialogue and negotiations oriented toward a balance of interests, not confrontation, should become the sole method of resolving international problems and settling conflicts. We are in favor of bringing the Soviet economy into the world economy on mutually advantageous and equal foundations and of active involvement in the formulation and observance of the rules of modern international division of labor, scientific and technical exchange and trade. We are in favor of cooperation with all who are prepared for it.

There is another fundamental matter. In the past our foreign policy practice in certain instances ran counter to the proclaimed exalted principles of socialist foreign policy. Abritrary actions were carried out that caused serious harm to the country and had a negative impact on its international prestige. It was the consequence of the same command-based system and the secretive decision making that was characteristic of it. One of the important tasks of the political system as it is being reconstructed by us is to exclude such systems and methods. In the future all significant foreign policy decisions should be adopted only after they have been

thoroughly discussed in the Supreme Soviet and its commissions, while the most major ones, for instance those connected with allied relations and the conclusion of the most important treaties, should also be submitted for consideration by the Congress of People's Deputies. (Applause)

The approval of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies for the aforesaid principles is not just of legal importance, but of immense political importance—both internationally and domestically.

Far from everyone in the West, comrades, believes that we have chosen this foreign policy course once and for all and that we do not intend to change it. And here in our country, too, not everyone yet understands the fundamental essence of foreign policy based upon the new thinking. Some people regard it as a sort of tactic, a temporary zig-zag or even a concession to the West. This—I want to stress, and I hope the congress will support this statement—this is our strategic policy which is profoundly well-grounded and which expresses the interests of the Soviet people and which, we are convinced, corresponds to the interests of all mankind. (Applause)

At the congress itself, a proposal was voiced to dispatch a message from our congress to the peoples of the world. I think that we do have something to say to the people of the planet. (Applause)

V.

Comrade deputies, as we can see, our field of activity is vast in all areas—in socioeconomic policy, and in state and legal policy, and national policy, and international policy, a great many major tasks of a revolutionary character are to be resolved. There are far more problems than those I have set out in my report, and I am sure that the discussion at this congress will show this.

Quite understandably, **the success of the task depends in decisive measure on how we manage to organize our own work, on how soon the new supreme organs of power can assume the functions incumbent upon them, and can take the lead in all the work of reform in the country.** Discussion on this topic has already started, in effect. A number of fundamental issues on which there should be consultation have come to the forefront of this discussion.

The first of these is the delimitation of the functions of the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is no simple issue because the structure of the supreme organs of power currently being introduced in our country is based upon the desire organically to combine our Soviet tradition, born in the socialist revolution, with the experience of the work representative organs generally recognized throughout the world. The Congress of People's Deputies itself, first and foremost, is a unique organ in our system. It is essentially a congress and its task is not to operate continuously. This is something we must sort out, I think, and we seem to have made progress in this direction already. It is to assemble, as we arranged, no less than twice a year, in order to adopt the laws and decisions most important for the country on fundamental issues of the state's internal and foreign policy; in order to evaluate and monitor the work of other organs of power; and where necessary to make amendments to the constitution and alter the political system itself. The Supreme Soviet should, in its new form, according to the intention of the political reform, be a permanently operating organ of power, carrying out both legislative and the basic administrative functions.

Now for the relations between the legislative and the executive power: This is a very important issue which requires special elaboration and study. But one can already say today that the relations between the chambers, commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet, on the one hand, and the executive organs on the other, must be substantially changed, compared to the way things were done up until now. The commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet should evidently examine the targets of state plans and the articles of the budget, and evaluate their correspondence with the fundamental directions of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet itself.

The second important task to be settled by the commissions is to consider the candidacies for key state functions—ministers and ambassadors to foreign countries and so on, for example.

It is not hard to see that both of these functions will enable our parliament to hold in its hands the real levers of power. In supervising the activity of the government in issues of strategic importance, the congress and Supreme Soviet should take care that the government is enabled in full measure to solve the tasks of state government within the framework of the constitution and that it assumes the entirety of responsibility.

According to the planned reform, the Committee for Constitutional Compliance—which should in effect act as a Constitutional Court—is intended to play an important role in our political system. Looking ahead, I shall say that the development of judicial supervision over the activities of the administrative organs at all levels should evidently become one of the inalienable elements of socialist law-governed statehood. (Applause)

During the preceding days at the congress there has been vigorous discussion of the question of the status of the USSR people's deputy. We already agreed with you that it is necessary to work out a new document regulating a deputy's position, his rights and obligations, and submit it to the congress. But there are some fundamental points on which it is necessary to agree and to adopt a decision so all the comrades can get involved in active work. What should one bear in mind here? First, the unity of the corps of deputies. All deputies, regardless of whether they were elected by territorial or national territorial

constituencies or by public organizations, have equal rights. The next point relates to distribution of labor among the deputies. Naturally, the deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet by the congress will bear additional commitments. They must have the appropriate additional possibilities to implement the obligations being placed on them.

Bestowing special functions on a Supreme Soviet member must not by any means belittle the role of other people's deputies. First and foremost, every one of them still has the possibility of being elected to the Supreme Soviet when 20 percent of it is renewed annually. Many deputies will be members of the Supreme Soviet commissions and committees, comprising up to half of their members and enjoy the right of a decisive vote there.

It seems sensible for them to be able to be involved in the leadership of commissions and committees—as deputy chairmen, for instance—representing, as it were, half of the members of these bodies. As I understand, we have all agreed that every USSR people's deputy may take part, if he wishes, in the work of various commissions or committees and in the sessions of the Supreme Soviet chambers. Everyone must be given full information about the current work of the Supreme Soviet, the government, and other organs of power. Finally, everyone has the possibility to carry out active political work in his own region or public organization, maintaining a constant connection with his electors and addressing various questions and proposals to local and central organs of power. Deputies must have the necessary conditions to receive citizens and to meet the electorate, and the local bodies must take care of this. Moreover, all these issues must be resolved promptly. (Applause)

Thus we will be able to preserve a most valuable equality of the Soviet system: constant communication between people's representatives and all of the working people. To put it in the words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, to combine the **advantages of parliamentarism with the advantages of direct and immediate democracy**.

A couple of words about the organization of the work of the congress and the Supreme Soviet. People's deputies have brought here to the Kremlin a diversity of views and life experience, behind which stand various interests: social, ethnic, professional, age related, and regional. It is natural that joint work cannot avoid divergences of opinion, arguments, and discussions. Such discussions began on the first day, if not the first hour, of the congress, and I don't see anything bad in this. On the contrary, pluralism of views broadens the range of possible solutions and enables us to gain a fuller idea of the object under examination. And of course, divergence of opinion should not become an obstacle to sensible decision making.

As was rightly said by one of the comrades here, we may have diverse views, but we should have only one policy: that of revolutionary restructuring. (Applause) For this reason it is essential to do everything to achieve accord, to try and understand one another, to make some mutual concessions in the interests of the cause. Only when this proves impossible, the last word, of course, remains with the majority. Such is the law of democracy.

In conclusion, one more very important factor that has also been touched on here. On various grounds, deputies have proposed introducing one or another amendment to the USSR Constitution. I add my voice to those who caution against hasty amendment of the basic law. The constitution is too important a political document to adapt it to a particular situation that may arise. It is another matter and on this, I think, we are united at least. This is how I perceive the mood of the congress. We need to elaborate and adopt a new constitution for the country. The consolidation therein of the revolutionary reforms being implemented in the course of restructuring will form one of the most important guarantees of their irreversibility. But now, at the height of the reform it is not yet possible to take account of the whole complex of issues that must be reflected in the new basic law.

Comrades, this, in a nutshell, is my evaluation of the situation in the country, my main thoughts regarding the main directions of our state's future domestic and foreign policy.

What do I want to say in conclusion? We are not beginning our work from scratch. We have formed a concept of restructuring, of economic and political reform. In one form or another, with one or another degree of depth and criticism, these matters have been examined at various forums of party, state, and public organizations. They have been discussed in labor collectives and in the media—definite, practical steps have been taken. But time quickly changes the situation, new tasks and new needs arise. And I would like to express confidence that our congress, expressing the collective reason of the people, will be able to produce an effective agenda for the Soviet state in the coming years and will give new energy to the whole process of the revolutionary renewal of our society. (Prolonged applause)

Congress Resolution on Deputy Status To Be Published

LD1506173389 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 15 Jun 89

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—Extensive rights of the USSR people's deputy are determined by a resolution on the deputy's status.

The document, which had been adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on June 9, the final day of its proceedings, was on Thursday [15 June] turned over for publication in the press.

The resolution was drawn up as a result of the congress discussion of the rights of the deputy.

Some of the participants in the congress voiced misgivings as to whether the deputies would find themselves divided into two unequal categories—those elected to the permanently functioning Supreme Soviet (542 out of 2,250 deputies) and all the rest. The constitution-sealed principle of an annual renewal of the Supreme Soviet by 20 per cent did not remove a number of questions. This promoted the need for a resolution to this effect.

Firstly, the resolution seals the equal rights of deputies in everything concerning the legislative initiative, the participation in deliberations at the meetings of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its committees, and the commissions of the chambers, and the introduction of proposals, observation or amendments on the substance of matters under discussion.

Secondly, the resolution has it that a deputy who is not a member of the Supreme Soviet may participate in the meetings of this legislature and its chambers with the right to deliberative voice.

Thirdly, it is stipulated that a deputy who is not a member of the Supreme Soviet may be elected to a committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet or a commission of a chamber. In this case he participates in meetings of the committee or commission with deciding voting power.

A deputy who is not a member of the parliamentary committee or a standing commission of the chamber may participate in their meetings with the right to a deliberative voice.

The deputy's rights recorded in the resolution of the congress include the right to get information essential for the deputy's activities from state and public bodies, enterprises, institutions and organisations.

The deputy is granted a priority right to express his opinion in mass media published in his constituency or in the public organisation that elected him.

The range of the deputy's rights determined by the congress is of temporary nature. The elaboration of a law on the status of the people's deputy of the USSR is now being started.

According to preliminary data, such a law is to be submitted for consideration to the second Congress of People's Deputies in the fourth quarter of this year.

'Lithuanian Independence Union' Formed

LD1206190289 Vilnius in English to North America 2220 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] It has been announced that the Lithaunian Democratic Party, the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party, the Lithuanian Freedom League, the Helsinki Group, the National Youth Union of Lithuania, and other organizations have merged into the Lithuanian Independence Union. All these organizations preserve their status, while the Lithuanian Independence Union will act as a coordinator of common and vital questions, writes the bulletin TRIBUNA.

Turkish Firms Send Representatives to Azerbaijan

NC1206100189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Representatives from a number of firms in Turkey have been the guests of Azerbaijan for the 3d day now. Talks are being held in Baku to broaden relations between the two countries in various fields.

Economic

Abalkin Says Upturn Impossible for 18 Months

PM1506105789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Academician L.I. Abalkin conducted by A. Lyutiy and A. Chernyak under the rubric "The Platform of a People's Deputy"; "Thinking About Tomorrow"; date, place of interview not specified; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] How is the economy to be extricated from the crisis situation? An acute and interested debate unfolded on this question at the Congress of People's Deputies following the speech by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. By and large deputies supported the measures proposed by the government. A number of speakers submitted their own constructive ideas. That is a good thing. Pluralism of opinion broadens the range of possible solutions and enables us to gain a fuller idea of the difficult questions of developing the economic complex. It is important to consider all reasonable and valuable elements and take them on board in restructuring.

Recriminations were heard on several occasions directed at our economic science, which, according to deputies, has not risen to the task and has been unable to produce a correct and timely diagnosis of the economic ailment and prescribe a means of curing it.

What does Academician L.I. Abalkin, a leading economist, think about this?

[Abalkin] Scientists have quite well thought-out proposals on how to escape from the grave financial crisis. The numerous recriminations directed at economic science

are on the whole rhetorical and pedestrian. We heard them during the times of stagnation—using approximately the same expressions, moreover. These recriminations are made without an in-depth knowledge of the situation in science and the level of its developments. Scientists have views and ideas to express.

Theoretical work in our economic science is a serious process. It is never-ending. We must further increase our theoretical knowledge, and this is achieved in two ways: first, by making breakthroughs to some profound understanding of the fundamentals of socialism and its economic system; and, second, by critically analyzing the experience that we have accumulated in the last few years of restructuring. We have taken a step forward in economic science, a big step, but we must not consider the process over.

It is of fundamental important to think about present-day problems from the long-term perspective. We must not live solely for today. We must clearly envisage the final model toward which we are working and the final aim of the economic and social transformations. We cannot resolve contemporary tasks without thinking about tomorrow—the need for fundamental breakthroughs in technology and a qualitatively new level of economic structure. Otherwise we will once again be primitively patching the holes without any clear vision of the future. I am profoundly convinced that strategic thinking must prevail over tactical solutions. In the past we often gave tactical aims priority—for instance, preparations for the spring sowing, fall field work, and cattle overwintering. This was passed off as concrete leadership. At the same time we did not see any necessity to lay foundations for the resolution of tasks tomorrow, the day after, and in the long term.

[Correspondents] Leonid Ivanovich, in your opinion, what must we do in the economy in the next 2-3 years?

[Abalkin] A considerable proportion of the measures have already been determined both in the report by M.S. Gorbachev and in the report by N.I. Ryzhkov. I think that some of the measures were set out by Deputy N.P. Shmelev. I also agree with him.

In my opinion, it is now extremely necessary, partial decisions apart, to begin practical changes in fundamental economic relations. It is necessary to restructure these relations, open a real road to diverse forms of ownership and economic activity, and create equal conditions for all forms of economic activity. Freedom of choice must also be guaranteed—for every worker, collective, and region—in choosing those forms that they deem most suitable for them.

All measures to do with transferring the means of production to wholesale trade and broadening the independence of enterprises, regions, and republics must be brought within a single system. These measures must be mutually coordinated. They must be implemented very strictly in terms of timeframe. We often act in an uncoordinated fashion and take what would appear to be good steps but do not coordinate them with our other steps. Because we put the cart before the horse, our measures not only fail to have a positive effect but in fact have a negative effect. We must act in a programmed, comprehensive way.

[Correspondents] Did the Congress succeed in fulfilling the tasks facing it? How satisfied are you with its work?

[Abalkin] I did not harbor any great illusions about the potential of the Congress. I reckon that a Congress comprising 2,250 deputies cannot in principle resolve a single concrete question. Imposing this function on it is quite unwarranted. I think that all specific questions—this was the first idea of political reform—can only be solved by a professional parliament at a professional level. Any resolution, any law, any decision requires careful professional study. In order to prepare a decision, the Supreme Soviet commissions have to work thoroughly for a couple of weeks, invite specialists, consider the various options, envisage possible consequences, and coordinate a text which precludes ambiguous interpretation. This cannot all be discussed in principle at the Congress, which was at times reminiscent of a rally. It has a different function. The congress determines the general political line, forms working bodies, and expresses confidence in people called upon to resolve various questions. The Congress should not be tasked with solving specific problems. In view of what I have said, in my opinion, the Congress fulfilled its role.

[Correspondents] In your opinion, which speech was the most interesting, and why?

[Abalkin] That is a very difficult question. There were very many highly interesting speeches. We heard two or three outstanding speeches every day. The speeches in which people reached peaks of civic awareness, in which they pondered the people's common destiny and the global problems of our development made the greatest impression. Important though they are, questions relating to the development of regions, republics, and local soviets can be resolved at the local level. A civic view of problems on the statewide scale is also needed.

[Correspondents] Your speech at the 19th party conference was extremely critical. How would you describe the state of our economy and its prospects now—in an optimistic or a pessimistic key?

[Abalkin] Almost 1 year has elapsed since the 19th party conference. Time has confirmed the correctness of my assessments of the problems facing us. But it took a year for these ideas to be universally recognized. A year in which some proposals could have been implemented has been lost.

I oppose our division into optimists and pessimists. You must be a realist in everything. Realism consists in the following. There can be no major improvement in the next few months before the fall. In the next year even. This must be openly acknowledged. The most important task now is to stop the situation from deteriorating further. Last year the situation in the economy continued to deteriorate.

If we take sufficiently serious, extraordinary measures, including measures to put our finances on a sound footing, the growth of the negative trends can be halted. The situation must be stabilized and questions resolved piecemeal, in order to revive people's belief in the possibility of real improvement. We must choose a few of the most important questions and resolve them, gradually—one by one. At the same time we must prepare and implement radical reform measures, while stabilizing the consumer market, over the next 2 years, so that in 18 months from now we can incorporate in the new 5-year plan a reform elaborated on fundamentally new foundations. Then, that is in approximately 18 months, we can expect a slow, gradual, but increasing improvement in the economic situation.

Anything else is groundless illusion and unwarranted expectation that can only end in disappointment.

PRAVDA Views Congress, Economic, Social Reform

PM1506150389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jun 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Foundation of Restructuring"]

[Text] It is not simple to give meaning to the work of the first Congress of People's Deputies. The spectrum of problems is too broad, they are too complex to say readily and resoundingly, as before: "The tasks have been set, the ways of resolving them have been outlined—to work, comrades!"

The problems around which debates flared up included paths of transformation in the economic and social spheres. They are the foundation of restructuring and a determining factor in attaining its goals. The congress of people's deputies sought collectively to investigate the course of the radical economic reform in order to reinforce and lend stability to its plus points and at the same time shed light on the blunders allowed.

We can rightly put down to the credit of restructuring the turn which the economy is beginning to make toward man. We are constructing more apartments for people than before. In the course of the conversion which has begun, our military plants are building up the production of consumer goods. For the second year in succession the pace of the production of goods is outstripping the overall pace of industrial production growth as a whole and the services sphere is being expanded more actively. The number of cooperatives engaged in producing articles in short supply has increased.

We cannot fail to see that the approach toward production problems is also changing in the labor collectives. Formerly the main slogan was: Fulfill and overfulfill the plan, but whether the consumer needed the articles produced and what the above-plan "surge" would cost—there was little concern for that. Now people have begun to calculate expenditure and revenue more painstakingly, to be more attentive toward the fulfillment of specific orders and the reduction of the prime cost of articles.

Despite that, fundamental problems of restructuring the economy and bringing it up to a modern level have not been successfully resolved in the years under review. The financial system has gotten out of balance, a deep disproportion has taken shape between the commodity mass and the money mass, and the shortage of many goods in daily demand remains. Labor and production efficiency still remains unacceptably low and too often work is performed unskillfully and unprofessionally.

What is the reason for the setbacks? We still assess work, as we did decades ago, by the volume of output in rubles, the number of articles, without due consideration for quality. Leveling down in the remuneration of labor has still not been eliminated. Our production is aimed at the growth of the production of output assimilated long ago, so it rejects [ottorgayet, presumably intended to be otvergayet] new technologies and new models of articles and goods. As a result the country's enormous scientific and technical potential works inefficiently.

The Congress spoke keenly of shortcomings in the use of state funds and funds earned by the collectives designed to update production potential. We build walls yet we constantly patch up obsolete equipment, sometimes spending more on the repair of machines than on the creation of new ones. For instance, even at the capital's "Moskabel" plant, you can see a rolling mill which is... 90 years old. Some 10 times more than the cost of the mill itself has been spent on capital repair for it. There is a similar situation at many other plants. Why? The plan organs and sectorial ministries treat calmly the fact that at only one-fifth of the country's 44,000 enterprises at which capital investments were made last year was provision made for the replacement of equipment and the retooling of production. At the others they constructed shops. Given this indifference toward technical progress it will be hard to lead the economy out of the crisis.

We can and must reach a new modern model for the economy through radical economic reform, through the transfer of all economic links to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, through the broad development of leasing and the cooperative movement. The strategic design of the reform defined in the party documents and its basic avenues are correctly defined. But in practical execution, the Congress said, a great deal of inconsistency, irresoluteness, halfheartedness, zigzags, and even retreats are allowed at all levels,

the Congress stated. And all because the administrative-edict system of managing the economy is still strong and no new mechanism of economic management has been created.

To ensure that the reform works more effectively for restructuring we must be bolder and more vigorous in changing methods of planning, put financial levers to work, improve wholesale prices, taxes, conditions of labor remuneration, and all other links of the economic mechanism. The reform demands the combination of different forms of ownership, the creation of flexible and effective relations when using public property, and the establishment of a full-blooded socialist market.

The USSR Law on the State Enterprise, although it proclaimed the labor collectives to be the owners and the plants and associations socialist commodity producers, is so far failing to provide real guarantees of their economic independence from ministries and departments. As before enterprises are the prisoners of instructions and other legally binding departmental acts. The Congress of People's Deputies noted that society, while remaining the owner of nationwide property, can and must transfer most of this property, through various leasing relations, to the disposal of labor collectives and individuals. In turn lessees must accept full responsibility for the use of funds, assume specific economic commitments to the state, and carry out construction and production independently both at their own expense and with the aid of credits.

Even the best programs and promises of manna from heaven cannot rapidly lead the economy out of its difficult position. We have one way out—working conscientiously. The social point of the reform is to give those who want to work honestly the opportunity to work effectively and to earn a good wage. The Congress correctly stated that we must not create the impression among the people that our state has granaries and if you apply pressure to the state, go out onto the street, or organize a strike, it may extract something from those granaries and distribute it to those who are demanding it. This "policy" is based on a total misunderstanding of the rudiments of economic management. The center of the problem of improving the radical reform lies not in what to share out and how but in giving those able and willing to do so the opportunity to work well and honestly and to receive remuneration strictly in accordance with the results of their labor.

The present state of discipline and order is causing serious anxiety. Because of the poor fulfillment of its official obligations the country is incurring great losses, both economic and moral. Irresponsibility and elementary slovenliness are disorganizing production. And it is striking that some people see in the demand for order and discipline almost the undermining of democracy and an attempt to resurrect the system based on edicts.

As the reform deepens a system of relations in the national economy should take shape which will make it possible to make our economy an economy based on law. It will be based not on administrative edicts, not on orders, but on relations regulated by the law. That time must be brought nearer by practical deeds.

The party pays constant attention to the economic and social problems of society's life. They were on the agenda of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th Party Conference, and Central Committee plenums. Not everything is proceeding as smoothly and rapidly as might be wished. The reasons for these problems are very serious. We must all resolve them together: Communists and nonparty workers, scientists, and, of course, people's deputies.

Laser Production Center Starts Up in Vilnius

PM1606093189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jun 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS Correspondent report: "The Omnipotent Laser"]

[Text] Vilnius, 13 Jun—The first orders for the manufacture of progressive technology were received today by the center for laser technology in Vilnius. It is organized on the basis of scientific laboratories of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences and industrial subunits. The center's specialists will create and introduce into production fundamentally new laser devices for the national economy's needs.

Lithuania has already accumulated a certain amount of experience in the application of laser technologies in production. The republic's scientific laboratories have designed impermeable filters which are used in hydrogeology, the thermal and nuclear power industry, and municipal services.

Agricultural

Nikonov on Results of Agricultural Conference

LD1506223489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] An all-union seminar on the problems of intensifying agriculture ended today in Kiev. Our correspondent Vladimir Sokolov reports:

[Sokolov] For 2 days more than 200 agrarian scientists, heads of agricultural scientific production associations, and practicing specialists discussed a wide range of issues relating to establishing unified, comprehensive, and ecologically substantiated systems of agriculture for various regions of the country as bases for preserving and multiplying soil fertility. Those taking part in the conference visited a number of scientific establishments and farms in Kiev Oblast, where the so-called contour land improvement system of land use, taking comprehensive account of local conditions, is being successfully introduced. This system was developed by Ukrainian scientists.

Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke and took part in the work of the conference. In an interview with All-Union Radio he stressed that the range of problems tackled at the conference relates to the initial basis for resolving the main problem confronting agriculture: the most rapid possible solution of the food problem.

[Begin Nikonov recording] The agrarian question was, I think, very fully answered both at the March plenum of the party Central Committee and at the Congress of People's Deputies, which ended its work less than a week ago. The food problem was raised in very trenchant and sometimes abrupt terms, many words of bitter truth were uttered to the effect that for many years we have been unable to eliminate shortages in many food products, and to ensure social justice. The way out of this situation lies for our country mainly in two areas: the first is the person, the second is the land. A constructive solution is the rural small holding, wealthy and calculated for several generations; the development of leasing relations; and the individual's personal interest in the results of his labor.

The second problem is expanded reproduction of soil fertility. We have a large stock of land. But the arable land is not in itself rich: 132 million hectares of it is subject to water and wind erosion; 80 million hectares is saline; over 60 million hectares is acid. And here, in the Ukraine, in Kiev oblast in particular, a few years ago a group of enthusiasts, scientists, managers and specialists at collective and state farms, found a comprehensive approach to this problem which is yielding very high returns. It is not the soil protection system nor the system of moisture retention which is new here, but rather tilling the soil in relation to the contours and land improvement situation in the field. Each group has its own selection of crops. Realistic ways toward our goal have been mapped out here. [end recording]

Agricultural Developments for 8-14 Jun Reported

LD1506061589

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 8-14 June, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

8 June

Uzbekistan's statistical service reports that the first 1 million tonnes of coarse feed for public cattle stock have been stored up in the republic. The rate at which the feed is being gathered in is lower overall than in previous years, because of the consequences of the bad spring weather. (0204)

9 June

32 million hectares have been allotted to haymaking in the republic of Kazakhstan. Harvesting is now taking place on the second million. The collective and state farms of Kazakhstan, of which there are more than 2,500, are now preparing hay and haylage. (1100)

10-11 June

No fileworthy items monitored

12 June

Kazakhstan has ended the sowing of spring crops. Grain crops alone occupy an area of over 20 million hectares. (0900)

Crimea: selective harvesting of winter barley has started. (1100)

13 June

Winter crop harvesting has opened in south Tajikistan. Corn for grain will be sown on the newly-plowed fields once the harvesters have gone. It is planned to harvest winter crops from 50,000 hectares in the republic. (1950)

14 June

More than 2.5 million hectares have been sown to corn in Kazakhstan; on this area interrow cultivation of shoots has been completed, with tilling, weeding, and application of fertilizer having been carried out. The shoots are doing well. In Kazakhstan corn is a valuable supplement to feed. On irrigated fields of the south the crop's grain and greenery yield is high. (1100)

Scientific

'Mir' Continues Geophysical Experiments

LD1506112889 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—The Mir orbital complex continues its automatic flight. Geophysical experiments to explore the ionosphere and magnetosphere of the earth and measure the flow of micrometeorites in near-terrestial space are conducted regularly under the scheduled programme.

Some 40 work sessions on exo-atmospheric astronomy under the international roentgen project, which besides Soviet scientists also involves specialists from Britain, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany and the European Space Agency, were carried out in two weeks of June.

The information obtained as a result of the observations of the Supernova in the Great Megallanic Cloud shows that there has been a further drop in the intensity of the radiation flux of this unique stellar formation. Several series of experiments were also conducted to study the

Roentgen pulsar in the Centaurus constellation. The first measurements were made of the radiation of the nova in the Cygnus constellation, which exploded in the sky last month.

The on-board systems and scientific equipment of the Mir complex are operating normally.

Kursk Nuclear Power Station Accident Described

PM1506104389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by "State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry on Nuclear Power Stations' Work": "Nuclear Power Stations: Events in May"]

[Text] Some 44 power units were in operation.

There were five unscheduled power unit shutdowns: One at the Kalinin Nuclear Power Station [AES], one at the Chernobyl AES, one at the Balakovo AES, and two at the Kursk AES.

Personnel were to blame for two shutdowns, one was due to design defects, and two were due to equipment malfunction.

The radiation situation at the nuclear power stations and in the monitored areas by and large does not exceed the levels laid down for normal operations. There was a breach of radiation security at the Kursk AES when a small quantity of radioactive liquid leaked into the soil outside the territory of the AES.

At the Kursk AES the transportation of spent fuel in containers which were discovered to be defective was temporarily prohibited.

No personnel were exposed to excessive radiation.

There follows a commentary on the data.

IZVESTIYA (no 126) began publication of monthly reports on AES events. The editorial office receives them from the State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry. Our correspondent asked the committee's deputy chairman, N. Shteynberg, to comment on the situation.

[Correspondent]: Nikolay Aleksandrovich, specialists have talked a lot about the potential ecological advantages of nuclear power units. But that is true only until there is an accident. And, anyway, does the present level of knowledge and technology ensure an acceptable level of nuclear power station safety and the development of nuclear power in the next few decades?

[Shteynberg]: My answer to this question is: Yes, in principle. My optimism is based on our experience and the experience of foreign countries developing nuclear power (the United States, France, Britain, the FRG, and others). The modern technology and infrastructure make it possible to guarantee an adequate level of safety. The experts have a different problem today—how to convince the public of this...

[Correspondent] Fine, in principle, as you yourself said. But can our present-day AES's meet this modern safety level?

[Shteynberg] Here, unfortunately, I cannot answer absolutely in the affirmative. The thing is that there are 10 or so first-generation power units, built in the sixties and seventies, operating in the country. It has been decided to rebuild [rekonstruktsiya] these units, the work to be completed in 1992-1994. Such modernization is very costly. But it must be done. And we hope that the aforementioned measures will make it possible to significantly narrow the gap between the required and actual safety level at old AES's.

[Correspondent] Let us return to the report published today on the work of AES's in May. Could you comment please on the events at the Kursk AES. What actually happened there?

[Shteynberg] On 10 May at the Kursk AES radioactive contamination of railroad tracks inside and near the station was recorded over a total area of not more than 30 square meters. The contamination resulted from a trickle of radioactive water through the lid seal of a container for transporting spent nuclear fuel. It was due to bad container design and insufficient care on the part of personnel when closing it. As a result of timely measures the leak was eliminated and the contaminated area of track was decontaminated until a normal background reading was achieved.

[Correspondent] You came to the State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry from the Chernobyl AES, from the post of chief engineer, which you occupied in the postaccident period. So my last question is: What is the current situation at the Chernobyl AES and does it justify the continuing operation of this notorious station?

[Shteynberg] Work at the Chernobyl AES is proceeding in accordance with regulations and instructions. Of course, it is more difficult working there than at other stations. This is due to everyday problems, the regular change of personnel, and the great public interest in the station, both at home and abroad. It is also highly stressful, due to the fact that the AES personnel were made to bear the entire responsibility for the tragedy. But that is not quite the case...

As for the question of the need to continue work at the Chernobyl AES, it is a question for the country's planning organs to answer—where do you find another source of that size immediately? I am talking about 3 million kilowatts! Either you have to close down some

plants and leave settlements and villages without power, or continue to operate the station, while, naturally, observing the rigorous safety norms.

Scientist Calls Nuclear Test Safety 'Bluff'

LD1506133289 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] A Kazakh scientist, Dr (Sayin Balmukhanov) finds that assurances on safety of underground nuclear tests are nothing but a bluff. He has been watching radiation levels in Kazakhstan since the 1950s, particularly in the region of Semipalatinsk, where the nuclear testing site is situated. He states that the underground explosions affect the people's health. The scientist thinks that the public movement, Nevada in Kazakhstan, and the similar Semipalatinsk movement in the United States should persuade both governments that further development of nuclear arms is senseless.

Military

Deputy Varennikov Responds to Criticism of Army

PM1506132489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jun 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Army General V. Varennikov, deputy from Maloderbetovskiy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug, under the rubric "USSR People's Deputies Speak": "Our Army Has One Honorable Function"]

[Text] First let me dwell on the Afghan problem. For the last 4 years, until the withdrawal of our troops, I was directly concerned with this matter in this country.

Despite the positive assessments of our troops during their time in the Republic of Afghanistan and the correct approach to the Afghan problem on the part of the majority of the Congress, some deputies tried not only to cast aspersions, but even to make accusations against our country. In this connection I must say this.

It is very important that the Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan not only fulfilled their international duty through the resolution of combat tasks, but also gave assistance to the republic's armed forces in intercepting caravans carrying weapons and gangs sent in from Pakistan territory and in protecting important sites, communications, and so forth. Especially since January 1987, when the policy of national reconciliation was proclaimed in the Republic of Afghanistan.

Troop units of the 40th Army energetically delivered Soviet food and various goods and distributed them among the population. They worked on the repair and construction of housing, schools, hospitals, roads, and bridges, and helped to cultivate the fields. Irrigation canals, artesian wells, and electricity transmission lines were built with the help of the internationalist servicemen, field plants and factories were set up, and so forth. All this had a positive effect on our relationship.

It is of fundamental importance that we helped our Afghan friends to create fundamentally new armed forces for the republic, instead of the royal armed forces. Now, as is well known, they are autonomously resolving tasks in the defense of the people's power, and have achieved significant results.

But even that is not the most important thing. Our officers and men, together with the corresponding Afghan bodies, carried out considerable political work among the Afghan population with a view to reconciling the warring parties. And they achieved tangible results. This is clear if only from the fact that in the regions of Herat and Qandahar, around Kabul, and in the north of the country many opposition detachments either went over to the side of the legitimate government, or adopted a neutral position, which is also fully in accordance with the policy of national reconciliation. And for all this the Afghan people are grateful to our people and the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Today it may be said with confidence that the people of Afghanistan bear no malice against the Soviet Union. They continue to entertain great respect for us. I am sure that everyone who had the opportunity to fly to Kabul, for instance, would see this for himself.

I am saying all this not only in order to provide information about the situation with our southern neighbor and about the 40th Army servicemen's fulfillment of their duty. I wish to stress once again that our soldiers and officers always have been, are, and will remain patriots to their Motherland and internationalists tested repeatedly in great causes.

In Treptow Park in Berlin a monument stands as a symbol of humanity and internationalism. That is how our soldiers were and still are. And Sergey Chervonopiskiy was right in what he said—how could the very idea arise that a Soviet soldier would raise his hand against a child or woman? We reject all the suspicions voiced by various extremists about the soldiers who are our children and grandchildren serving in the Army, suspicions to the effect that in the Armed Forces they are trained against their own people. Or that they kill each other, as supposedly happened in Afghanistan. This is a wild, shameless lie. And we entirely understand the sympathy and indignation reflected in the numerous telegrams sent to the Congress and to people's deputies personally on this question.

The second question I would like to dwell on is that of the Army's functions and restructuring. Our Army has one function—the defense of the socialist state's security against possible outside aggression. All the tasks that do not properly belong to the Army have been performed not to the detriment, but in the interests of the people. Be it the harvest, the construction of major national economic projects (the Baykal-Amur Railroad, Baykonur,

roads in the Nonchernozem) or assistance to the population in natural disasters and major accidents—everywhere, our Army's soldiers and officers are first on the scene.

As you know, in some places military units have also been brought in to maintain public order. In conditions where emotions, extremism, and even vandalism prevailed over common sense. And no one can say for sure how events would have turned out and what the consequences would have been at the time in Alma-Ata, Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Sumgait, had it not been for the presence of troop units and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] units.

No one can say how the blockade of government and other buildings by a crowd of many thousands of people, led by extremists, in Tbilisi would have ended. Here too the Army was acting not to the detriment, but in the interests of the safety of the majority of the population. The commission elected by the Congress will carefully study all the facts and events in Tbilisi. But we should not forget that among the people who took part in the demonstrations and particularly those who led them are some who set goals that are unacceptable to socialism and the Soviet people, taking advantage of the democratic upsurge among the Georgian people in so doing. What happened in Tbilisi was undoubtedly a tragedy, and all the Soviet people, including Army servicemen, grieve for the losses. But we should also give clear political assessments of these events.

Another thing: The restructuring in the Armed Forces has entered the period of practical implementation. The reduction that was announced is in progress. Some of the troops are being withdrawn from the territories of the Warsaw Pact states and Mongolia. The structure of the troops is changing in the direction of a defensive orientation. All this is taking place without lessening the readiness to fulfill the tasks set. Because today more than ever before a lofty scientific approach and precise, efficient organizational work are needed. In the new conditions, a high degree of professional, moral, and physical training of personnel is also needed.

We believe that the Soviet people should know not only more, but everything about the Army's affairs—its life, combat training, and conditions. Much has recently been done to this end: We are opening the doors of assembly points, barracks, mess rooms, and various facilities; democratization and glasnost in the resolution of social questions and in the improvement of the moral atmosphere and law and order in military collectives are widening. We are greateful to those who, sincerely wishing to help, put forward constructive criticisms of us. But concern is caused by instances of the tendentious presentation of certain materials in the mass media, which leads to the growth of a negative attitude toward service in the Armed Forces among young people. After all, this is not only the fulfillment of a constitutional duty, but an indisputable necessity today. It is incumbent on us to defend the country.

Finally, about the principles of the formation of our Armed Forces and the social protection of servicemen. In response to proposals put forward by certain deputies for the formation of the Army on the national territorial principle, thousands of telegrams are coming in from voters requesting and demanding that we avoid that mistake. The might of the Soviet Army lies precisely in international unity. The confirmation of this is the victory in the Great Patriotic War, which was achieved largely thanks to the friendship and cohesion of our country's nations and peoples.

As an example, let me cite a telegram from Latvian Private R. Bartushas: "I learned real internationalism in the Army. I fought in Afghanistan, and felt I was one of a united family of Soviet servicemen, representatives of the multinational Motherland..." That, I think, says it all.

Manning the Army on the territorial principle would lead to the stepping up of territorial disunity and cut off a significant proportion of young people from interethnic contact and familiarization with the culture, languages, and customs of our country's fraternal peoples. Let us be frank: This idea is propounded by those who would like to destroy the fraternal union of our republics. Incidentally, the vast majority of young people drafted from the Baltic region, the Caucasus, and Central Asia are in favor of serving outside their own republic.

The disrespectful attitude in some places to a man in military uniform and to the needs of servicemen is leading to a situation where in the course of the reduction of the Armed Forces intelligent, well-trained young officers are submitting requests for early discharge. That should worry the Soviet public.

In the course of the formulation of a law on defense, measures for the social protection of officers and warrant officers must be provided for without fail. Namely: The opportunity to take a voluntary discharge from the Army for valid reasons, guaranteed housing, residence permits, and medical provision in the areas of serving, financial compensation for the rental of a private apartment, and other matters. Particular attention should be devoted to housing provision for officers. In our Armed Forces now there are no soldiers without housing and all the facilities necessary for daily life. At the same time in many military districts there are thousands of officers without apartments. And that means families too. This has been going on for many years. This tension can undoubtedly only be alleviated by joint efforts.

The appearance of anti-Soviet and antisocialist slogans at rallies prompts the thought that the blurring of colors and incorrect generalizations about Army problems can be exploited by forces with an interest in so doing in

order to undermine the foundations of the Army and the country's defense capability. We should rebuff those who try to drive a wedge between the Army and the people and between the party and the people. Perhaps some people do not like the fact that we have a socialist state and that the Soviet Army denies its enemies the hope of changing the political system? But the Army was and is true to its duty—the defense of the socialist Fatherland.

I am sure our Army will continue deservedly to enjoy the people's respect, love, and concern. And Army service, while the need for it persists, will remain the obligation and sacred duty of Soviet man.

Yazov, Others Sign Obituary of Adm Kasatonov

PM1506140389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jun 89 Single Edition p 3

[Obituary of Fleet Admiral V.A. Kasatonov]

[Excerpts] Hero of the Soviet Union Fleet Admiral Vladimir Afanasyevich Kasatonov, participant in the Great Patriotic War, has died after a long and serious illness. He devoted his entire conscious life to selflessly serving the motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, whose ranks he joined in 1939.

V.A. Kasatonov was born in the city of Petrodvorets, Leningrad Oblast, 21 July 1910. [assage omitted]

From 1964 through 1974 he was first deputy commander in chief of the Navy, and subsequently he was military inspector-adviser to the USSR Ministry of Defense Group of General Inspectors. [Passage omitted]

[Signed] D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, Yu.A. Yashin, A.I. Sorokin, V.I. Panin, I.M. Kapitanets, K.V. Makarov, A.A. Kuzmin, F.I. Novoselov, V.P. Potapov, V.V. Zaytsev, V.V. Sidorov, E.N. Semenkov, F.N. Gromov, G.A. Khvatov, V.P. Ivanov, M.N. Khronopulo, V.A. Samoylov, V.Ye. Lyashenko, S.P. Vargin, V.N. Pekedov, V.P. Nekrasov, A.I. Korniyenko, N.I. Khovrin, V.F. Tolubko, I.G. Pavlovskiy, I.N. Shkadov, N.I. Smirnov, N.D. Sergeyev, G.M. Yegorov, V.M. Grishanov.